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THE EARLY POEMS OF
WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR

THE EARLY POEMS
OF
WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

A STUDY OF HIS DEVELOPMENT AND DEBT TO MILTON.

BY

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BOOKS USED

1. Works of Walter Savage Landor, edited by Charles G. Crump, and published by Dent & Co., London. These comprise *Imaginary Conversations* in six vols., 1909; *Poems and Dialogues in Verse*, in two vols., 1909; and *The Longer Prose Works* in two vols., 1909. Vol. II. of the last contains the general index used in this study for purposes of reference.
2. The Poems of Walter Savage Landor, printed for T. Cadell, Jun., 1795. (British Museum.)
3. Poetry by the Author of Gebir, and a Postscript to that Poem. (Copy in Forster Collection, South Kensington Museum.)
4. Poetry by the Author of Gebir, 1802. (British Museum.)
5. Poems from the Arabic and Persian, by the Author of Gebir, 1800. (British Museum.)
6. Walter Savage Landor. A Biography by John Forster. Two vols., London, 1869.
7. Landor, by Sidney Colvin, 1902. (English Men of Letters.)
8. Letters and other unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor, edited by Stephen Wheeler. London, 1897.
9. Milton's Poetical Works, edited by Rev. H. C. Beeching, M.A. Oxford University Press, 1911.
10. Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of Milton. Laura E. Lockwood, Ph.D. New York, 1907.
11. Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems, by Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Ph.D. (Yale Studies in English, VIII.), New York, 1900.
12. Works of Alexander Pope, in nine vols. Joseph Warton, D.D., Basil, 1803.
13. A Concordance to the Works of Alexander Pope, by Edwin Abbott. London, 1875.
14. Entstehungs- u. Textgeschichte von Landor's 'Gebir.' Dissertation von Robert Schlaak. Halle, 1909.

15. Griechische Mythologie von L. Preller. 3. Aufl. Berlin, 1872.
16. Justini Historiarum Philippicarum ex Trogo Pompeio. N. E. Lemaire. Parisiis, 1823.
17. Herodoti Historiarum Libri IX., J. Schweighäuser. Paris, 1816.
18. Walter Savage Landor. A critical study, by Edward Waterman Evans. New York, 1892.
19. Select Odes from the Persian Poet Hafez, translated into English Verse, with Notes, by John Nott. London, 1787.
20. Simonidea. Bath. Printed by W. Meyler in The Grove, and sold by G. Robinson, 25, Paternoster Row, London. Not dated, but the Preface was written in 1806. Cf. Colvin, p. 45. (British Museum.)

POEMS OF WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE fame of Walter Savage Landor as a writer rests chiefly on his *Imaginary Conversations*. These were the work of his later years, while the longer and more important of his poems were written in youth. It may still be said that he is not well known as a poet even to students of English literature. Neither his place among poets nor the influence of his work on other writers seems to have been clearly estimated. This neglect is the more surprising when contrasted with the admiration of such men as Southey, Shelley, and Browning, to mention no others of the poets who came under his influence.

It is true that Landor himself contributed to the result, since he chose finally the medium of prose for the expression of his genius. He left some of his poems in their first unfinished state, destroyed others, and made no attempt to republish considerable fragments, which remain, even to-day, available only in a few rare copies. He came to regard the making of poetry rather as a pastime than as a vocation in life. The absence of popular applause or encouragement, however he may have seemed indifferent to anything of the kind, was the real obstacle to greater achievement. He confessed as much

when he wrote to Southey, " The *popularis aura*, though we are ashamed or unable to analyse it, is requisite for the health and growth of genius. Had *Gebir* been a worse poem, but with more admirers, and I had once filled my sails, I should have made many, and perhaps some prosperous voyages. There is almost as much vanity in disdaining the opinion of the world as in pursuing it " (1).

These words explain clearly enough why the promise of *Gebir* was never fulfilled. If Landor was indeed what Southey saw in him, a great poet in the making, no other example is needed of the blighting influence which popular neglect may have upon genius.

Enough, however, remains of his early work to form the basis of a study of his poetic aims and inspiration. The poems to be considered were written during the last decade of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century. They thus belong to a period of peculiar importance both in literary and in political history. During those years English poetry was set free from the shackles put upon it by Pope and his imitators, and drew fresh life from the ideas which inspired the American and French Revolutions.

Walter Savage Landor played no inconsiderable part in bringing about this literary change. Born in 1775, the year of the outbreak of the American War of Independence, on the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., he seems to have imbibed republican principles even in childhood. His first hero was Washington, who inspired one of the earliest of his poems, while George III. was the object from first to last of his hatred and contempt. In those years he was intelligent enough to follow with interest the bitter naval struggle during which England lost and regained the supremacy at sea. The war in India leading to the appointment of Warren Hastings as

(1) Forster, *Life of Landor*, Vol. I. p. 178, note.

first Viceroy, the troubles in Ireland, and the war against France provided food for his early political ideas. He conceived an intense aversion for kings and wars of aggression. It is difficult now to account for such deep-seated convictions in the mind of a child. Landor's father was at that time an ardent Whig, but Walter himself seems to have gone far beyond him, and, when all others changed, he remained steadfast in the political faith of his childhood. He was fourteen years of age and already a good Latin scholar at Rugby when the French Revolution began. Like many others, he hailed it with fervour, and no failure of its first promises, no excesses of its supporters could convert him from its principles. At Oxford he distinguished himself in his studies as a classical scholar, and in his political opinions as the 'mad Jacobin.' Immediately after his rustication in the autumn of 1794 he began to prepare his first book of poems for the press. It appeared early in 1795 as *The Poems of Walter Savage Landor* (1). These will be considered more fully later, the object of this introduction being to give a general account of Landor's growth as a poet. Nothing in his career previous to the publication of the book just mentioned would lead one to expect in him 'the feverish thirst of song.' His youth had known neither care nor sorrow. His education and home influences had been those common to English boys in well-to-do families. Though passionate, he was not unusually sensitive, and there was no peculiarity of mind or body to set him apart from others of his age and class. He was distinguished only by a certain violence of temper, by his devotion to classical studies, and by his republican views. In his religious belief he seems to have been heterodox by nature rather than by deliberate choice or as the result of thought and study. Throughout life he remained indifferent to the spiritual problems which

(1) Printed for T. Cadell, jun., and W. Davies (successors to Mr. Cadell) in the Strand.

exercised the minds and inspired the writings of many of his contemporaries. There were then, in the case of Landor, few of those conditions which so often attend and foster the growth of a poet. His first book was just what might be expected from such a preparation. It was not the work of one who had felt the overpowering need of self-expression or the desire to give new thoughts to the world. He called poetry in one of the notes in this volume an 'elegant accomplishment.' That gives the measure of his first work, which was less the product of his own powers than a concession to the fashionable taste of the hour.

He could write, and had in fact already written, poetry of a far higher order than that he gave to the public. The Latin poems published with a *Latine scribendi Defensio* in the same volume show greater originality than the English verses. But while still at Oxford he had begun to master the difficulties of blank verse. The translation of a passage from Virgil given by Forster proves him to have already attained considerable facility⁽¹⁾. This was probably written in 1794, if we may trust Landor's assertion and the evidence afforded by his handwriting. About the same time he had begun to compose either in Latin or English a long narrative poem on the history of the Phocæans. More than a thousand lines of this remain, and the weight of evidence is in favour of the view that a considerable part was written in English long before Gebir claimed Landor's attention. If this be the truth, it casts doubt on the theory put forward by previous commentators that Landor was at the time now being considered a mere slavish imitator of Pope, and that he afterwards came under the influence of Milton and began to write blank verse in *Gebir*.

English literature was certainly a neglected study at Rugby and even at Oxford during the closing years of the eighteenth century. But that Landor had read Milton is

(1) Forster, Vol. I. pp. 38, 40.

clear from the reference to the latter in the *Latine scribendi Defensio* (p. 208), which may be here given :

“ In adolescentia Miltonus ipse : nec tantum virum pudit, in aetate provectiore, cum Musis eisdem ludere, quandocunque laboribus patriae tam utilibus incumbere, paulisper, desierat.

“ O diem ! jucundum et illustrem ! quae Tyrannidis nubila, diu collecta semperque hominibus gravia, luce pura laeta salubrique dissipavit ! Quae vidit identidem vigentes Justitiam ac Poesin : quae vidit, ut uno verbo complecter omnia, Miltonum.”

It will hardly be maintained that Landor had thus early conceived an admiration for Milton as a patriot and poet without having gained some acquaintance with his English works. His devotion to the polished style of Pope does not exclude the possibility of some appreciation of Milton and Shakespeare ; just as the later study of these did not destroy all his admiration of Pope, for this was still lively when he wrote in 1800 the *Postscript to Gebir* ⁽¹⁾. Far more probable than any theory of sudden conversion in literary taste is the view that the young author had already some knowledge of the English classics and a sounder judgment than he showed in the published poems and the notes upon them. He chose to give the public what he knew the public would read and praise. The result of the success which the book gained was to make him ashamed of his work, and his own account written a few years later bears out the explanation here given :

“ Before I was twenty years of age I had imprudently sent into the world a volume of which I was soon ashamed. It everywhere met with as much commendation as was proper, and generally more. For though the structure was feeble, the lines were fluent ; the rhymes showed habitual ease, and the personifications fashionable taste . . . So early in life I had not discovered the error into

(1) Cf. *post*, p. 66.

which we were drawn by the Wartons. I was then in raptures with what I now despise."

Very few months had passed before Landor attempted to withdraw the volume from circulation (¹). Its very success was a stimulus to aim higher, to write more in accordance with his deeper convictions. Three years intervened before his next important work appeared. During the interval he had probably completed all that exists of the narrative about the Phocæans. But the influences which prepared his mind for the work of *Gebir* put an end to these activities. The deeper springs of emotion were set free during his solitary life in Wales by events of which the record is unfortunately very incomplete. There is sufficient to show that his love for Ione and her early death stirred for the first time his heart. Added to this was the effect of the mountain solitudes and wild sea coast in fostering his love of Nature. His preference for the ancient classics gave way, and a thorough study of English poetry brought him finally under the supreme influence of Milton.

In 1798, some months after its completion, he published *Gebir*, the most characteristic of his early poems. The remarkable superiority of this work over the preceding has been generally attributed to Landor's study of Milton, though the evidence hitherto brought forward is hardly sufficient to support the assertion. Such evidence as can be drawn from the poem itself will be given later. It may, however, be stated at once that too much has been ascribed to this factor. Among other influences the chief was the attempt to write an epic in blank verse based on events narrated by Herodotus and inspired by the ancient classics. This brought Landor's style nearly to the perfection displayed in *Gebir*. There were also, as just stated, certain experiences of his stay in Wales which must have given him a deeper knowledge of character and awakened the desire to write other than didactic and

(¹) Forster, I. p. 59.

political poetry. The most important of these was his love of Nancy Jones, which began before he went to Wales and ended before *Gebir* was completed.

The biographers have recorded it incompletely and incorrectly. Its bearing on Landor's work is such that it must now be briefly considered.

The young poet met Miss Nancy Jones in 1793 or thereabouts. This is proved by a scrap of paper found in the cedar box whose contents were made public by W. S. Wheeler a few years ago. The verse thereon written has no other interest than its reference to Ione. It is headed '*Written in 1793.*' I have examined this relic⁽¹⁾, as the writer evidently regarded it, and conclude that it is a copy made later than the date named. The heading, in the same handwriting as the verse itself, clearly proves that it cannot be the original. There is, however, no reason for doubting that the latter was actually written, as stated, in 1793 or about that time. The relationship between the two continued in Wales, as several poems testify, and appears to have been that of mutual love. This may indeed explain why he chose this out-of-the-way place of retirement—to be near the object of his affections. Landor was still in Wales when Ione died. The following verses may be quoted in proof of the fact and of the deep feelings aroused in the heart of the young poet :

And thou, too, Nancy ! why should Heaven remove
Each tender object of mine early love ?
Why was I happy ? O ye conscious rocks !
Was I not happy ? when Ione's locks
Claspt round her neck and mine their golden chain,
Ambition, fame, and fortune smiled in vain.
While warring winds with deafening fury blew,
Near and more near, our cheeks, our bosoms, grew.
Wave after wave the lashing ocean chased,
She smiled, and prest me closer to her waist.

(1) British Museum MSS., 35140, f. 78.

Ah memory, memory ! thou alone canst save
 Angelic beauty from the grasping grave.
 And shall she perish ? by yon stars I swear,
 Here she shall live, though fate hath placed her there.
 The sigh of soft surrender, and the kiss
 For absence, doubt, obedience merit this.
 Let fears, let fame the cancel'd vow suggest,
 Love, to whose voice she listen'd, veils the rest.
 Though Nancy's name for ever dwell unknown
 Beyond her briar-bound sod and upright stone ;
 Yet, in the lover's, in the poet's eye,
 The gentle, young Ione ne'er shall die.

The volume in which this poem was included appeared in 1806 with the title *Simonidea* ⁽¹⁾. It was probably written before *Gebir* was published. In that work Ione is already a memory of the past, and there is the same note of sadness as in the verses above quoted.

'Lo ! mirror of delight in cloudless days.' Thus he addresses her, and then speaks of 'our broken bonds' and 'led back by Memory' retraces again her charms (*Gebir*, IV. 36-51). There is no doubt the passage refers to Ione, who is also again celebrated as one of the nymphs in the same poem. There she is thus described :

. . . young Ione, less renown'd,
 Not less divine ; mild natured, Beauty form'd
 Her face, her heart Fidelity ; for Gods
 Design'd, a mortal too Ione lov'd.

(*Gebir*, VI. 37-40.)

Again in *Chrysaor* (138-141) :

. . . and sweet Ione, youngest born,
 Of mortal race, but grown divine by song.
 Had ye seen playing round her placid neck
 The sunny circles, . . .

There is clearly the inspiration of deep feeling in all these references to Nancy Jones. There is even the evidence of tragic sorrow in the thought of her fidelity and of their broken bonds. These considerations would be out

⁽¹⁾ *Simonidea* : published at Bath, 1806 (copy at the British Museum) The verses have not been reprinted elsewhere. Cf. Colvin, p. 45.

of place were it not that the significance of the passages quoted and of others on the same subject has been hitherto overlooked. Moreover, the facts have been incorrectly stated, and the truth has this importance in the study of Landor's development—through Ione he became acquainted with love and sorrow, and to the influence of these feelings he owed some of the qualities of *Gebir*, which raise it so high above his previous poetry.

Two other friendships, of which the effect on Landor's mind and character was strongly marked, must also be briefly recorded. The first was his devotion to Rose Aylmer, whom he met in the autumn of 1796 at Swansea ⁽¹⁾. To her he was soon afterwards indebted for the loan of the book which gave him the outlines of the story related in *Gebir*. She was not in any sense the successor of Ione, though it must have been about this time that the bonds of his first affection were broken. There is no reference to Miss Aylmer in *Gebir*, and Landor's poetry as well as his own statements prove, as W. Wheeler says, that there was more sentiment than passion in his devotion. She was born in October, 1779, went to India in 1798, and died there two years later ⁽²⁾. Landor has made her name immortal in the beautiful elegy which almost alone among his poems has become well known.

A somewhat similar place in his affections was next taken by Sophia Jane Swift, whose family could boast of having had among its members a century earlier the famous Dean. Her name, in the form Ianthe, occurs in many of Landor's verses. At one time he claims to have invented it, or at least converted the more familiar Jane by the magic of a Greek letter (θ) into the pleasing trisyllable which was later seized upon by Byron and Shelley ⁽³⁾. The claim is certainly false and the charge against Byron unjust, for the name is to be found in

(1) Wheeler, p. 66.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 70.

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 188, 189, note.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Both poets had apparently forgotten the story of Iphis and Ianthe. It is an instance of the curious tricks Landor's memory served him from time to time, the more interesting as I find he had himself used the name Ianthe before he met Sophia Jane Swift. It occurs in the *Birth of Poesy*, written before 1794 and included in his first book. The line deserves to be quoted, because it indicates the true source of several Greek names used by Landor.

Thoe, and Clymene, and Ianthe, twin'd
What florets little feared th' autumnal wind (1).

In the *Theogony* of Hesiod (2) these three nymphs are mentioned among the numerous daughters of Tethys and Ocean. Possibly this had returned to Landor's memory when he wrote, "Some one has fancied that Ianthe (stolen by Byron) is only Jane with the Greek θ . What noodles are commentators!" (3) But he had himself been one of the noodles! Though the matter is of little importance, it seems worth while to clear up the confusion caused by the poet's forgetfulness, if only to save the memory of Byron from one more crime.

The friendship with Miss Swift soon came to an abrupt conclusion, for in 1803 she was married in Ireland (4). In later years as the Countess de Molande she became again one of the most valued among the poet's friends. Landor's next publication consisted of a small volume entitled *Poems from the Arabic and Persian*. They were certainly not translations, as he then claimed, and have therefore some importance for the student of his development. They appeared in 1800 and have received but scant attention, though they possess intrinsic interest. Two years later he gave out the *Poetry by the Author of*

(1) *Birth of Poesy*, II. 109.

(2) Hesiod, *Theog.*, 349, 351 and 354. The assumption is strengthened by the mention of Hesiod in the *Birth of Poesy*, II. 191.

(3) Wheeler, p. 83.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 80.

Gebir, containing *From the Phocæans*, *The Narrative of Protis*, which has never since been reprinted, *Chrysaor*, and other smaller poems. This was an attempt to do what *Gebir* had failed to do, namely, to find an audience. He knew that *Gebir* was good ; he was doubtful whether the *Phocæans* had merit, but he desired to know whether such poetry was wanted at all. He found it was not, and unfortunately accepted the verdict.

The *Simonidea*, published in 1806 (¹), is a collection of shorter poems with one of some length entitled *Gunlaug and Helga*. There is nothing in the style of the *Phocæans*, *Gebir*, and *Chrysaor*, and the book seems to show that, with those works, Landor's earlier career as a poet ended abruptly almost where it began.

It is true that he wrote verses of a high order, sometimes of surpassing beauty, which are to be found scattered through the *Imaginary Conversations*, but the promise of heroic song worthy to rank with the greatest English poetry was never fulfilled.

(¹) The preface is dated February 14th, 1806.

CHAPTER II.

LANDOR'S FIRST PUBLISHED POEMS.

THE book which appeared in 1795 with the title *The Poems of Walter Savage Landor* is a selection from the author's various attempts at verse writing made during the preceding four years. It has been already suggested that the selection was made rather under the influence of fashionable taste than of the young poet's better judgment. Further confirmation of this view may be found in the fact that he had already composed in blank verse part of the *Phocæans*, and that he published this work years after he had become ashamed of, and suppressed, the writings which are now to be considered.

The first and longest poem in the volume is entitled *The Birth of Poesy*. It comprises 1,210 verses in three Cantos and was begun about 1792, when the author was but seventeen years of age. Three years later he finished it and sent it to the *Morning Chronicle*, intending the proceeds from its sale for the benefit of a distressed clergyman. The poem was declined, however, and Landor printed, with some corrections, what may still be seen in a copy at the British Museum. The preface, from which these facts have been taken, also informs the reader that the *Birth of Poesy* was designed to contain five cantos and to comprehend the dramatic writers of Greece.

It is clear that so large an undertaking was beyond the powers of his youthful mind. There is hardly any reference to the Greek dramas. In the notes at the end he discusses the origin of modulated sounds and adds that it was judged more proper to place the observations on

this subject in a note, "than to descant on them in the Essay; since they relate as much to language as to poetry"—that "elegant accomplishment." Such remarks leave no doubt as to the extent of his ambition at that time, and would be a sufficient condemnation of his taste, if we had not the evidence of his other attempts to mitigate our judgment. There is nothing to suggest the influence of Gray's Ode called *The Progress of Poesy* except perhaps the name, nor any resemblance, either in substance or form, to that work. Landor drew his inspiration from his classical studies, from Lucretius and Ovid, the odes of Sappho, from Anacreon and others. He used the recognised eighteenth century form, and imitated in style and choice of material, above all others, Pope. He gives, however, some slight indications of a knowledge of Milton in at least one passage. A few extracts will serve to support these conclusions and to display the general character of Landor's *Birth of Poesy*.

The first Canto opens with the lines :

1-4. Haste, heavenly Muse ! to whom these arts belong,
To trace the sources of eternal song.
Say first, Omniscient ! say what genial clime
Bore beauteous Poesy ; what happy time ?
.

39-40. With mimic breath the whisper soft assay'd—
When lo ! the yielding reed his mimic breath obey'd.

Referring in the notes to this passage he quotes (p. 147) from the fifth book of Lucretius :

At liquidas avium voces imitarier ore
Ante fuit multo
Et Zephyri, cava per calamorum, sibila primum,
Agrestes docuere cavas inflare cicutas.

The versification remains of the same character throughout the poem, varied only by an occasional alexandrine. Landor was plainly under the rule of Pope, and had probably no great knowledge of the less common

metrical forms used before Dryden. Yet he had read Cowley, and in the third canto, as will be seen, he attempts an imitation of that poet's *Elegy upon Anacreon*. He must therefore have been acquainted with the alexandrine at its best in English verse ⁽¹⁾. None the less he chooses to follow Dryden or Pope rather than Cowley, and as in the above example, his hexameters break in the middle. The approach to rhyme adds a further defect and converts what should be a single, long, and supple verse, into a weak couplet :

When lo ! the yielding reed
His mimic breath obey'd.

This example may serve for many which could be extracted from his first poems to show that the young author had not yet studied the laws of English metre. He accepted the eighteenth century model without question. In the same way he makes great use of alliteration. He retained, indeed, his fondness for this ornament until after he wrote *Gebir*. Like Pope, from whom he probably acquired the habit, he is partial to the play upon the sound of s, if indeed this be a partiality and not merely, as I think, an accident due to the far greater frequency of words beginning with that letter. In Abbott's Concordance to the works of Pope ⁽²⁾ the fact is referred to as if it were difficult to explain. Surely the explanation here given is sufficient. Milton himself in the early poems is not free from this inharmonious heaping together of sibilants, as for example, in Psalm lxxxvi., 58. So also in this first canto of the *Birth of Poesy* we find 'sources of eternal song,' 'the whisper soft assay'd,' 'she breathes ambrosial,' 'seize their leaping sinews and unsteady knees,' 'the rolling spheres tune not so sweetly to celestial ears,' 'the sacred sound'; and the same is true of the other two cantos.

⁽¹⁾ This is the view stated in *The Flower of the Mind*, by Alice Meynell, p. 339.

⁽²⁾ Edition London, 1875, Preface, p. xiv.

Continuing the examination of the poem, the next point of interest is the brief description of the Creation :

63-64. All else completed God at length began
The lovely fabric of immortal Man.

The description of Adam in Paradise and of his dream concerning Eve, whom he sees on awaking, is clothed in the conventional language of which an example has been given above. The subject seems strangely out of place in the general scheme of the poem.

It is surprising that Landor should have been able to write such verses if he had indeed read those of Milton in *Paradise Lost*. A few specimens of his manner of treating the theme, which occupies the verses 50-220, must be given.

Of Eve he writes :

77-80. She breathes ambrosial ; and her locks of gold
Gales, airy finger'd, negligently hold.
Around her balsam-breathing florets scent
The paths of pleasure, virtue, and content.

135-138. Remote from others stands one sacred tree ;
Of bitter fruit, but beautiful to see.
Death on each blossom sheds the mist of Pain :
Death marks it for his own : then, fear it, and refrain.

209-220. Now, bashful Modesty no more her guide,
She fell, she wept, her shame she could not hide.
But when the sun had shot his parting ray
Unhappy Adam pointed out the way.
No river, there, majestically flow'd,
Nor yet resembled aught their late abode.
For mossy bowers, and undulating rills,
Plains long extended lay, and lofty hills.
Their eyes reverting oft, they slowly went,
Hand claspt in hand, to wander and repent.
Thus early shepherds, ameban, sung
The pleasing lesson to the pliant young.

The couplet referring to shepherds or shepherdesses occurs at intervals as though to give a lyric touch to the poem. Thus at verse 89 we read :

O peaceful shepherdesses ! happy they
Who thus in raptures pass the fleeting day.

The same kind of repetition may be found in the Pastorals of Pope, as, for instance, in *Autumn* (17, 22, 31, 39, etc.) :

Go, gentle gales, and bear my sighs away !

The language approaches most nearly to that of the *Messiah* by the same poet ; and as in that work a few faint suggestions of the influence of Milton are to be found, so also, in Landor's lines about the Creation and the fall of Adam and Eve in Paradise, there are some slight traces of the same influence. In the notes on this part there is a discussion of the biblical narrative and a comparison with Greek fables, but no word about Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Reasons have been given in Chapter I. for thinking that Landor had probably read that work, and the following words in one of his later poems seem to prove it :

. . . the force
Of Milton was for boyhood too austere,
Yet often did I steal a glance at Eve.

Perhaps the effect of this slight acquaintance may be seen in the introduction of such a subject at all in a poem which was ' to comprehend the dramatic writers of Greece.' The appearance of Eve to Adam in a dream recalls the same incident in *Paradise Lost*. There are also occasional lines which can be compared with Milton rather than with Pope, as, for instance :

85. Now Morn from urns of crystal sprinkled dew.

177. Thou ! to whom Pleasure leads the laughing Hours.

Also the words ' vegetable gold ' in the serpent's address to Eve :

Dear to my soul ! how lovely to behold
That *blooming apple's vegetable gold*.
In vain thou livest *on ambrosial food*.

In *Paradise Lost*, IV. 218, we read :

And all amid them stood the tree of life
High eminent, *blooming Ambrosial fruit*
Of vegetable Gold ;

One of the few couplets cast in simple and affecting language is the following :

217-218. Their eyes reverting oft they slowly went
Hand claspt in hand to wander and repent.

Cf. *Paradise Lost*, XII., 641-648 :

They looking back, all th' Eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,

They hand in hand with wandring steps and slow
Through Eden took their solitary way.

After lamenting the evils of Tyranny, the first canto proceeds to sing the fates of Orpheus and Eurydice. Verses 371-374 are as follows :

Orpheus ! thy dirge begins : the rolling spheres
Tune not so sweetly to celestial ears ;
Feign'd, as they are, to run an endless round
In ether pure, mid floods of liquid sound.

The version, like the references of Milton in *Lycidas* (58) and *Il Penseroso* (105) seems to be based on Ovid. The subject was a favourite with Landor, and a fine translation of the same episode from Virgil made by him in 1794 may be seen in Forster (Vol. I., p. 38) (1).

The second canto continues the story of Orpheus, and includes a lament by Linus which has some slight resemblance to the same theme in *Lycidas*.

159-164. But thee, my Orpheus ! thee I hear rehearse
Our Argonautic deeds in deathless verse.
O cruel Muses ! playing on what hill,
Or dancing heedless near what favor'd rill,
Were ye, O where, when Death's dark cloud dispread
Around your child, your Orpheus hallow'd head !

Cf. *Lycidas*, 50-63. 'Deathless verse' is also a little suggestive of Milton, who has 'deathless praise' in *Comus* (973), 'deathless pain' (*P. L.*, X. 775) and 'deathless Death' (*P. L.*, X. 798), while the adjective nowhere occurs in Pope.

(1) A list of all books cited in these pages will be found on p. vii., *ante*, where the editions used are particularised.

Verse 109 contains the three names 'Thoe,' 'Clymene,' 'Ianthé,' taken from Hesiod, as already mentioned (¹). Verse 220 refers to Louis XVI. ; a note states that it was written when he had returned to Paris after his flight but before the execution. This part therefore was composed in 1791 or 1792.

From Orpheus the poem wanders to Troy, and relates the story of Achilles and the fates of Hector and Andromache. The canto closes with the legend of Sappho, based, like Pope's *Sappho to Phaon*, upon Ovid.

The third canto, beginning in Virgilian style, 'Arms are my theme,' narrates some incidents of the second Messenian war, with the desertion of the poet Alceus and the bravery of Tyrteus at the siege of Thome. Verses 181-185 have a more personal interest, giving indications of the poet's philosophy :

Thus throughout nature every part affords
More sound instruction than from winged words.
By me more felt, more studied, than the rules
Of pedants strutting in sophistic schools ;
Who argumentative, with endless strife,
In search of living lose the ends of life.
Or willing exiles from fair Pleasure's train,
Howl at the happy from the dens of pain.

The ideas are not unlike those of Pope in the following verses :

With too much quickness ever to be taught ;
With too much thinking to have common thought :
You purchase Pain with all that Joy can give,
And die of nothing but a rage to live.

(*Moral Essays*, II. 97-100.)

Verses 189-236 deal with Anacreon and the subject of love. There is then an appeal to Britons to overthrow Tyranny. After relating the story of Medea and of the Argo, the poem closes with a lament on the death of Anacreon.

What has been said of the *Birth of Poesy*, together

(¹) Cf. p. 10

with the extracts, can leave no doubt of its general character. It is an eighteenth century essay in verse in the style and language of Pope and his followers. It illustrates the wide classical studies of the youthful author, bears very faint traces of the influence of English literature previous to the *pseudo-classic* period, and betrays the defects and limitations of that period.

The *Apology for Satire* has chiefly political interest. It was inspired by the prosecution of Holcroft and Tooke in 1794, and by the author's hatred of slavery and of oppression in every guise. It takes the form of a dialogue between the poet and a friend, resembling in this respect the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*.

55-60. *F.* Hush! why complain? of treason have a care;
You heard of Holcroft and of Tooke—beware—

P. Without their talents I have only aim'd
Gently to hint what Pope aloud proclaim'd.

In Pope's *Epistle*, 75 :

A. Good friend, forbear! you deal in dangerous things;
I'd never name queens, ministers or kings;

And in Landor's *Apology*, 152 :

F. Mistaken youth! the milder plan pursue,
To love what statesmen and what monarchs do.

When both mention slavery, the resemblance is again noticeable. *E.g.*, Pope, in *Windsor Forest*, 407-410.

O stretch thy reign, fair Peace, from Shore to Shore
Till Conquest cease and Slavery be no more :
Till the freed Indians in their native groves
Reap their own Fruits and woo their sable loves.

Landor, in *Apology for Satire*, 49-53 :

He happier now, in Sleep's enchanting chains
Is borne again amid his native plains ;
Reclined at ease, in date impurpled groves
Clasps in mad ecstacy his dusky loves.⁽¹⁾

The reference to Holcroft and Tooke seems to imply that it was written late in 1794, perhaps in 1795, when the

(1) Gray has also 'dusky loves' in the *Progress of Poesy*, II. 2. For Landor's appreciation of Gray's *Elegy* see his *Postscript to Gebir*. Cf. *post.*, p. 65, note (2).

third partition of Poland mentioned in verse 149 was imminent. It may therefore be regarded as Landor's last production in this style, except the *Moral Epistle*, which it resembles.

Pyramus and Thisbe, based on Ovid, and written in the same artificial vein as the *Birth of Poesy*, offers nothing of interest.

The fourth and last of the longer poems in the volume is an *Epistle from Abelard to Eloise*. In the preface the author admits that 'he must necessarily labour under many disadvantages. The very title calls to recollection that excellent epistle by Pope, which might have been better had it suffered a few retrenchments, but which, still, is unrivalled in the smaller provinces of Poetry.' The statement is interesting, especially if he means to include all the poetry of Pope in 'the smaller provinces.' It would then indicate on Landor's part a somewhat wider poetic vision and a sounder judgment than he has generally been credited with at this stage of his development. Perhaps, however, he only means 'among shorter poems.' Continuing 'he contents himself not with what has been already said but with what might have been.' He considers that the letters of Eloise present far better material for poetic treatment than those of Abelard, and regards this as the ground of Pope's choice. Finally he concludes, 'The Author is aware this may be a reason for having failed in, rather than the least apology for having attempted so difficult a task!' This plea for attempting the new rather than repeating the oft-repeated brings to mind the dictum of Pope in a letter to Walsh:— 'It seems not so much the perfection of sense to say those things that have never been said before, as to express those best that have been said oftenest' (1).

In spite of his preface, however, it is improbable that the idea of writing Abelard's epistle in verse occurred to Landor independently. He had certainly read the letters

(1) Abbott's *Concordance*, p. v.

of the two lovers, as may be seen from the contents of his verses and as the preface implies. His most likely source is a volume entitled *Letters of Abelard and Eloisa, with a particular account of their Lives, Amours, and Misfortunes*, by John Hughes, Esq., to which are added several Poems by Mr. Pope and other Authors: London, 1785.

The book first appeared in 1765 and went through many editions. It contains an English version of the actual letters, Pope's *Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard*, and no fewer than five versified replies of Abelard by various authors. All these keep fairly close to Abelard's own letter and show little originality in form and substance. The subject was evidently a favourite one at the time. Another example may be mentioned, namely, *Abelard to Eloisa*, an epistle by Thomas Warwick: London, 1785. Landor could hardly expect to add much to so well worn a theme, nor does he succeed.

The opening lines deserve to be quoted:

Verses 1-6:

Still can thy heart, O Eloise! regret
My painful absence; nor awhile forget
Joys past for ever, nor await the doom
Of lingering life and misery to come?
I, O my Eloise! I too have mourn'd
Our cruel fate, and sigh for sigh return'd.

They are almost the only verses in the four poems thus far considered which show enjambement and a welcome freedom of accentuation. The language also is free from artificiality. The manner, however, is immediately lost and the poet sinks back into the monotony and conventionality of his models. Thus he continues:

Yes, hapless Abelard will ever prove
The dear, the dread, ubiquity of love.

As before, he loses no opportunity of alliterating at all costs.

Verse 51:

But here Affliction fills her bitter bowl
Whose poison pierces to my sick'ning soul.

Shortly afterwards there is a return to a less artificial style in a few lines of description which seem to contain one unmistakable touch of Milton's influence :

Verses 105-110 :

The daisy pied, the yellow cup of May
Whence sips the Grasshopper at break of day ;
The modest violet, and the azure bell,
That love, as we were wont, the silent dell.
Oft I review them, oft adown their bed
The sudden soul-subduing tear I shed.⁽¹⁾

'The daisy pied' was transplanted from Shakespeare's song in *Love's Labour's Lost* (Act V., Sc. ii.) by Milton into the *Allegro*, verse 75. The epithet does not occur in Pope. Indeed, as is well-known, that poet has written few pieces of natural description in simple language. The above passage indicates then a departure from the conventional mode and an approach to Milton or Shakespeare. It is interesting to observe in passing that Pope also, in his epistle, borrowed one or two epithets and ideas from his greater predecessor, as in the following verses :

Shrines where their vigils pale-eyed virgins keep,
And pitying saints, whose statues learn to weep !
Though cold like you, unmov'd and silent grown,
I have not yet forgot myself to stone.

'Pale-eyed priest' in Milton's *Nativity Hymn* (180) and 'Forget myself to marble' in *Il Penseroso* (42) were the probable source.

A certain originality of application may be found in the lines where Abelard is represented as yielding for a time to a longing for a more natural and simple religion :

Verses 136-148 :

Me from my Eloise my vow detains,
And Piety in cold and adamant chains.
Blessed, thrice blessed ! is the harden'd mind
No God can terrify, no vow can bind.

(1) Cf. Collins' Ode on *The Passions* (50), 'soul-subduing voice.' Some other slight resemblances occur, e.g., 'mimic soul' of music. Cf. *Birth of Poesy*, I. 40, 'mimic breath.'

Love unrestricted and unbroken rest
 Inhabit only the untutor'd breast.
 Happy the mortal in his natural state !
 No fears alarm him and no ills await.
 Unbounded honor swells his manly heart,
 Nor leaves to Bigotry her usual part.
 When on the lonely, loud-resounding shores
 The billow rises, and the ocean roars,
 He falls, he kneels, he trembles, he adores.

As usual, however, it is possible to find similar ideas in Pope, though otherwise applied. The above seems to be an expansion of the line, ' When love is liberty and Nature law ' (which is verse 92 of the *Epistle of Eloisa to Abelard* and is also in the *Essay on Man*, III. 208), combined with recollections of the couplet,

Lo, the poor Indian ! whose untutor'd mind
 Sees God in clouds or hears him in the wind ;
 (*Essay on Man*, I. 99.)

Other resemblances can easily be found.

Landor's *Epistle* concludes in the usual way with the last request of Abelard :

189-190. O ! in one tomb when Eloise may die
 Once more united let us ever lie.

The consideration of these four poems reveals clearly enough that their author had formed at that date no independent ideals as a poet. The subjects chosen were familiar, and, judging Landor by his achievement up to this point, no one would place him above scores of his predecessors. But it is only fair to add that he himself did not claim originality for his work. He regarded these productions as exercises on well-known themes in a well-established and recognised style.

A word in the preface seems to imply some such attitude ; for, after the introductory remarks upon the first four poems, he goes on to say : ' After this *Epistle (Abelard to Eloise)* are some little *original* pieces and some *Imitations*

from Catullus.' This sounds as if he did not regard the preceding poems as original in the strict sense.

Of the shorter poems there is little to be said. There are two showing a genuine love of Nature and of peaceful solitude, consisting of *Stanzas written by the Water Side* and verses on a *Sunday in May*. They are simple and unaffected in language, and the metre is that of the quatrain with alternate rhymes. Thus the first begins with the lines :

Swan gently gliding on the silvery lake
With plume unruffled, and elated crest,
Majestic Bird ! O may I once partake
Thy silent pleasure and unenvied rest.

And in the six stanzas which follow he writes of Solitude and of Friendship, without mythological or classical references. It is English poetry not unlike the earlier poems of Wordsworth, quiet and harmonious but without much depth or strength. *To a Lady during Illness* is again more artificial, with references to Hebe and Hymen and the Destinies. The second stanza in the piece contains a grammatical error which may indicate that the verses were of a hurried, occasional kind.

Haste, Hebe ! haste ; and rosy Health !
Fly from the Destinies by stealth :
A little longer bid them spare
To violate that auburn hair,
Where little Loves in ambush lay,
Or, not unartful, round it play.

An *Ode on the Departure of Mary, Queen of Scots, from France* expresses a romantic sympathy for the unhappy fate of that Queen which is of a kind unusual in Landor's writings. The history of England provided him with no subjects which could arouse his enthusiasm or inspire his muse. His devotion to the classics and his republican faith left no room for such interests. The *French Villagers* and *The Patriot* are inspired by his love of freedom, while

in the *Grape* he laments the death of Anacreon and extols France.

The *Ode to General Washington* is the most original in thought and the most vigorous in style of these short poems. The metre varies in the course of the nine stanzas. Among the rest it is not surprising to find the name of Pope twice in the English and again in the Latin verses which close the volume.

Taking the book as a whole, what is most evident is the absence, except in the political pieces, of all genuine feeling arising from the writer's own experience. It is this that deprives the poetry of vital interest. Had such feeling existed, Landor could not have written the cold and imitative verses which take up the greater part of the volume.

CHAPTER III.

THE PHOCÆANS.

THE work which must now be considered, consists of four fragments and comprises 1,067 verses. Unfortunately no edition of Landor's works includes the four parts, so that the poem is still inaccessible to the student. This is to be regretted, for the *Phocæans* represents a most important stage in the development of Landor's art. It forms the connecting link between those early writings which have been examined in the preceding chapter and the more mature poetry of his masterpiece *Gebir*. Although first published four years after, it was most probably written before *Gebir*, and is therefore the author's first considerable production in blank verse.

The volume entitled *Poetry by the Author of Gebir* appeared in 1802, and contains two of the fragments above mentioned, namely, *From the Phocæans* and *Protis's Narrative* (¹). The most recent edition of Landor's works, edited by Charles G. Crump, gives the first piece but not the second. The choice is curious, seeing that the poet himself in his preface remarks: 'It even is possible that the greater part of the first extract may be rejected,' while of the part which Mr. Crump has ignored he writes: 'For the second I make no apology. Unless as an extract, it requires from me less solicitude than anything else that I have ever written.' Most readers would confirm the view thus expressed. *Protis's Narrative* is clearer, more vigorous and more complete in itself, than

(¹) Copy at the British Museum.

the first piece called *From the Phocæans*. Moreover, the two parts explain one another. It is probable that the mistaken summary of the contents given in the index to Crump's edition might have been set right by a comparison of the two fragments. However, no editor has published *Protis's Narrative*, and it is therefore given as an appendix to this study. It may be added that two shorter pieces found in Landor's manuscripts have been published by S. Wheeler, one ⁽¹⁾ being the connecting link between the two parts above named, and the other ⁽²⁾ giving the conclusion of the whole work. Apparently these four fragments represent all that has survived of the epic which Landor had designed, and are probably all that he actually wrote.

As to the date of composition opinions differ. The author himself, in a letter to Browning, writes as follows : ' At college I and Stackhouse were examined by the college tutor in Justin, who mentions the expulsion of the Phocæans from their country. In my childish ambition, I fancied I could write an epic on it. Before the year's end I did what you see and corrected it in the year following ' ⁽³⁾. A note found among Landor's manuscripts, and published by Wheeler ⁽⁴⁾, states, '*Gebir* and *From the Phocæans* were written in the last century, when our young English heads were turned towards the French Revolution, and were deluded by a phantom of liberty, as if the French could ever be free or let others be.' According to the former of these extracts, the poem must have been in great part written about 1795, while the latter, by associating it with *Gebir*, would imply a rather later date.

It is not safe, however, to accept the author's own opinion without the support of other evidence. Forster,

⁽¹⁾ Wheeler, *Letters, etc.* 1897, p. 136.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 236.

⁽³⁾ Forster, I. p. 178.

⁽⁴⁾ Wheeler, *Letters, etc.*, p. 135.

in his account, assumes that *Gebir* was the earlier composition ⁽¹⁾. Colvin ⁽²⁾ implies the same; as also does E. W. Evans in *Walter Savage Landor, A Critical Study*, p. 76. Schlaak, in his *Entstehungs- u. Textgeschichte von Landor's Gebir*, p. 49, considers that the evidence of the letter to Browning is sufficient to prove the *Phocæans* a production of the poet's Oxford period. It may be remarked in passing that, in a note on p. 49 of the Dissertation, Dr. Schlaak refers to certain unpublished poems of the date 1800, under the title *Poetry by the Author of Gebir*. This is a mistake, the volume sent to Browning being that published in 1802 by Sharpe, of Warwick, as stated by Forster ⁽¹⁾. It may also be added here that the composition of a poem in blank verse, extending to more than a thousand lines, at the time of Landor's residence in Oxford University militates against the conclusion given by the same critic on p. 55 of his Dissertation. He there ignores the *Phocæans* and the translation from Virgil, and argues that two sharply-divided periods are to be recognised, the first characterised by the influence of *pseudo-classicism*, the second by that of Milton. In this he agrees with Evans ⁽³⁾, who, however, is better justified in this view, since he regards the *Phocæans* as of later date than *Gebir*. It is therefore of some importance to inquire what other evidence there may be, upon which the true place of this poem can be ascertained. Considering first the style, it can be said without hesitation that it is not modelled upon that of Milton. Although it is in blank verse the reader is never reminded, as so many have stated about *Gebir*, of the harmonious and impressive character of *Paradise Lost*. There is less variety, and the accentuation is more monotonous. Passages are not infrequent which, if provided with rhymes, would differ little from regular heroic

⁽¹⁾ Forster, I. p. 177.

⁽²⁾ Colvin, *Landor*, p. 37.

⁽³⁾ *A Critical Study*, p. 65.

couplets. Again, the language is entirely free from traces of Milton. A few epithets, descriptive adjectives and phrases occur in *Gebir* and *Chrysaor*, indicating the influence of that poet, but there are none in the *Phocæans*. A further, though perhaps less certain, indication consists in the excessive alliteration. It is even more abundant than in *Gebir*, while *Chrysaor*, though far from being free of this trait, is clearly less affected by the tendency. The following passages will serve to illustrate the above points :—

Long has Tartessus left her fertile fields,
 And but by forest beast or mountain bird,
 Seen from afar her flocks lie unconsumed ;
 The maids of Sidon, and the maids of Tyre
 To whom proud streams thro' marble arches bend,
 Still bid the spindle urge its whirring flight
 And waft to wealth the luxury of our woes.

From the Phocæans (verses 161-167).

Yonder where sailing slow the clouds retire
 How proud a prospect opens ! Alps o'er Alps
 Tower, to survey the triumphs that proceed
 There, while the Garonne dances in the gloom
 Of larches, 'mid her Naiads, or reclined
 Leans on the broom-clad bank to watch the sport
 Of some far distant chamois, silken-haired.

Gebir, VI. (Crump, Vol. VIII., p. 58).

These, and the many sister Nereids,
 Forgetful of their lays and of their loves,
 All unsuspecting of the dread intent,
 Stop suddenly their gambols, and with shrieks
 Of terror plunge amid the closing wave ;
 Yet, just above, one moment more appear
 Their darken'd tresses floating in the foam.

Chrysaor (143-149).

The first extract shows less skill in the versification and a nearer approach to Landor's earlier style than the other two, and this is generally true of the whole poems from which they are taken.

Occasional lines show that the influence of Pope in

choice of words, and partiality for antithesis, still affected the writer :—

Phocæans.

Verse

76. That burn in battle, or that shine in peace—
 126. Whose gently agitating liquid airs
 150. Enthusiastic rage sublime the soul
 157. Or whisper comfort or inspire revenge
 214. The tender maple in the twilight dell
 289. And shake their branches and suspend their bowers
 358. . . . Oceans rose
 To waft her, suns to strow the yielding way.

Protis.

Verse.

67. Some Sparta lures—perfection fancy-form'd !
 So pure her virtue and her power so poised,
 238. But heavenly powers ! whose silent orbs control
 The balanced billow of the boundless sea
 253. And every tufted lair and tipping stream
 Comes from afar before the fondling eye.

One of the above examples has a special interest, and seems to me to date from Landor's earliest period. In the *Birth of Poesy*, written before 1795, occur the following lines (I. 463) :

God rules the tide and winds that beat the skies,
 So pure with Him no purest ether vies,
 O'er all Creation He commands alone,
 The world His footstool and the sky His throne.

In the *Phocæans*, verse 358 :

. . . Oceans rose
 To waft her, suns to strow the yielding way.

The original of these is evidently the couplet of Pope's *Essay on Man* :

Seas roll to waft me, suns to light me rise :
 My footstool earth, my canopy the skies. (I. 140.)

The resemblance is almost sufficient to be called plagiarism. However that may be, it is certain that Landor would not either consciously or unconsciously have imitated that particular passage later than 1800. Moreover, had he done so within a year or two of that date, he would hardly have quoted it as an example of plagiarism by Pope. Yet in the *Postscript to Gebir*, which was written in 1800, he gives this very couplet of Pope as an instance of theft by the latter. The original is, it appears, in Montaigne, chap. 12 of the Second Book of the *Essays* (see Cotton, II. 348) (1). Since Landor had himself used Pope's lines, he either showed remarkable courage, or some years had elapsed and he had entirely forgotten the fact. The latter is the obvious conclusion.

There are some other less striking resemblances which serve to confirm the argument. In the short piece called *Epithalamium of Manlius and Julia*, one of those in the 1795 collection, are the lines :

Stretch to thee the arm that prest,
Close, before, its mother's breast :

which are not unlike verses 97-98 of the *Phocæans* :

Putting one arm against its mother's breast
Stretch out the other to a stranger's hand.

Again, from the *Birth of Poesy* :

Or weave on hostile loom with pensive joy
The streams, the vallies and the woods of Troy !

Cf. *Phocæans*, 166 :

Still bid the spindle urge its whirring flight
And waft to wealth the luxury of our woes.

None of the above can be regarded as conclusive evidence. But in *Gebir* there is one passage which was most likely inspired by what Landor had previously composed.

(1) Forster, I. p. 136.

In Book VII. 44 we read,

Here the Tartessian there the Gadite tents
Rang with impatient pleasure : here engaged
Woody Nebrissa's quiver-bearing crew.

The piece called *From the Phocæans* is almost entirely taken up with the affairs of the men of Tartessus and Nebrissa. Unless that poem were already actually written it is difficult to see why their names, and especially Nebrissa, should occur in *Gebir* ⁽¹⁾.

While thus considering dates it may be as well to add that on similar grounds *Chrysaor* must be regarded as a later composition. It contains, for example, the following lines :

Spio with sparkling eyes, and Beroe
Demure, and sweet Ione, youngest born,
Of mortal race, but grown divine by song—

These are to be found in *Gebir* :

Spio with sparkling eyes, and Beroe
Demure and young Ione, less renown'd,
Not less divine :

In the former Ione is described as 'youngest born' and 'grown divine by song,' which can be best explained by supposing that Ione had in the meantime joined the immortals. It is a veiled reference to her death, elsewhere mentioned ; she was the latest to have joined the immortal nymphs, and her name had already been sung in *Gebir*. But no one will doubt, apart from other evidence, that the style of *Chrysaor* proves it to be the last of the three works.

Finally there is the evidence of the preface to the *Phocæans* and *Chrysaor*, from which it is clear that the former was written at some earlier period, and that the first part, *From the Phocæans*, preceded *Protis's Narrative*. There Landor writes : 'I had begun to write a poem (the *Phocæans*) connected in some degree with the early

(1) Cf. *post*, p. 74.

history of Spain ; but doubtful whether I would ever continue it, and grown every hour more indifferent, I often sat down and diverted my attention with the remotest views I could find. The present is a sketch.' This is from the Advertisement to the *Story of Chrysaor*, and proves that the *Phocæans* had been already at some previous time abandoned. It seems likely that the work was commenced immediately after the author left Oxford. It was continued in Wales during 1795, the second part showing clearly the influence of the Greek studies to which Landor then devoted his attention. On taking up the subject of *Gebir* he lost interest in the work, but decided in 1802 to publish it with *Chrysaor* ; ' to ascertain not merely whether the poetry be good, but whether it be wanted—whether so much of the Iberian affairs be proper in this place, on any condition ? ' as he wrote in the preface. Taking, then, his own statements with such evidence as the works themselves afford, we may conclude, not with certainty but with a high degree of probability, that they were produced in the following order : about 1795 *From the Phocæans*, a little later *Protis's Narrative*, in 1797 *Gebir*, and at some later date, before 1802, the *Story of Chrysaor*.

We may now consider the sources to which the poet was indebted for the first of these Essays in the epic style. He always referred to Justin as the author whose record provided him with the historical material, and his reviewers seem to accept that view. But his real authority was the much fuller account to be found in Herodotus. The whole of *Protis's Narrative* is taken from the latter ; not only the chief incidents, but even the details and spirit of the narrative, being derived from him. Justin's account may be given in a few lines. After a reference to the Phocæans as the founders of Massilia (XXXVII. 1, 1) he adds a little later some incidents in the following words :

' Temporibus Tarquinii regis, ex Asia Phocæensium

P.L.

D

juventus ostiis Tiberis invecta, amicitiam cum Romanis junxit : inde in ultimos Galliae sinus navibus profecta, Massiliam condidit : magnasque res, sive dum armis se adversus Gallicam feritatem tuentur, sive dum ultro laccessunt, a quibus fuerant ante laccessiti, gesserunt. Namque Phocæenses exiguitate ac macie terræ, coacti, studiosius mare, quam terras, exercuere : piscando, mercando, plerumque etiam latrocinio maris, quod illis temporibus gloriæ habebatur, vitam tolerabant. Itaque in ultimam Oceani oram procedere ausi, in sinum Gallicum ostiis Rhodani amnis devenere. Cujus loci amœnitate capti, reversi domum, referentes quæ viderant, plures sollicitavere. Duces classis Simos et Protis fuere.'

He then relates the story of the marriage of Protis to the daughter of the King of the Segobrigii, the founding of Massilia in his territory, and the subsequent wars with the natives (XLIII. 3, 4). The Greek colonists also carried on a naval warfare against Carthage, and enjoyed the alliance of Rome and the friendship of Spain. Justin ends with the statement that the Phocæans sent gold and silver to the Romans to help them to buy off the Gauls, who had captured and burnt Rome (XLIII. 5). It is clear that Landor owed nothing but the names Protis and Cimos to this scanty and rather misleading summary of the history of the Phocæans. All that attracted him to the subject and roused his enthusiasm for the Phocæans, who preferred exile to subjection by Persia, is omitted by Justin. On the contrary they are described as 'exiguitate ac macie terræ coacti,' which is probably an error arising from the confusion of Phocæans with Phocences, 'quorum regio arida erat ac sterilis' (1). Landor had perhaps received the first impulse in the lecture room, and had then collected all the information he could from various sources. Undoubtedly the chief of these was Herodotus. There we read that the Phocæans were the

(1) Justin, *Lemaire*, XLIII. 3, note.

first among the Greeks to make long voyages to the ends of the Mediterranean. They made Iberia known to their countrymen, having been received in Tartessus with great kindness by Arganthonius, King of the Tartessians. The latter, hearing of the growing power of the Medes, gave money to the Phocæans to enable them to build a wall round their city (Herod., I. 168).

Apparently, soon after their return to Phocæa the threatened Persian invasion begins. The Prienenses are conquered and sold into slavery. Harpagus then attacks Phocæa, and the people, hard pressed, contrive to escape with their families and wealth, leaving their deserted city to the Persians (Herod., I. 164).

The Chians refuse to allow their former allies to settle on one of their islands (Ænyssæ), and the Phocæans are compelled to seek a more distant refuge. Arganthonius had in the meantime died. They choose to go to Corsica, but before setting sail, apparently from Ænyssæ, they make an onslaught on their native town and put the Persian guard to the sword. Then, casting a great mass of iron into the sea, they swear never to return to their own country until that iron should rise again out of the waves. More than half soon break the solemn oath and return; the remainder set out in sixty ships for Corsica (I. 165).

Landor has followed the story as told by Herodotus very closely in the second part of his poem, that called *Protis's Narrative*. He has somewhat changed the order of events, but the facts are the same. On the other hand, in the first fragment, *From the Phocæans*, there is very little about the heroes themselves. They are represented as fugitives seeking the help of Arganthonius in Tartessus. They are received with kindness, and Hymneus relates for their encouragement some of the experiences of the Tartessians in their struggle against oppression. He describes a sudden attack by the Carthaginians upon the city, the flight of the people and their subsequent return and victory. This, with the

connected incidents, comprises the narrative of Hymneus. What is described in the preface as the first important movement in the poem, namely the sea fight with the Carthaginians, is never mentioned. It is in Herodotus (I. 166, 167). The founding of Massilia was to be the conclusion of the whole, as may be inferred from the fragment published by Wheeler ⁽¹⁾.

Before examining Landor's poem in detail, it is of interest to observe how the various commentators have regarded it. Forster quotes some striking passages, but considers it on the whole difficult and obscure. He records that Southey, who had previously so greatly admired *Gebir*, found few passages of the *Phocæans* intelligible. The former was involved; but it was lucid compared with the latter ⁽²⁾.

Colvin says: 'The *Phocæans*, on the other hand, which tells of the foundation of the colony of Massilia by emigrants of that race, a subject which had been in Landor's mind since Oxford days, is so fragmentary and so obscure as to baffle the most tenacious student. It contains, like all Landor's early poetry, images both condensed and vivid, as well as weighty reflections weightily expressed; but in its sequence and incidents the poem is, to me at least, unintelligible' ⁽³⁾.

It may be remarked in passing that the poem does not tell of the foundation of Massilia at all. That was to be the end of the story; but the existing fragments describe only the departure from Phocæa and the arrival in Iberia. Dr. Schlaak describes the work as 'im höchsten Masse dunkel, lückenhaft und verworren'! ⁽⁴⁾. Landor's latest editor, Mr. Crump, seems to agree with the rest, since in the index to the *Works of Landor*, edited by him, events described by Hymneus as happening to the Tartessians are transferred to the Phocæans.

(1) Wheeler, *Letters, etc.*, p. 236.

(2) Forster, pp. 179, 182.

(3) Colvin, *Landor*, p. 37.

(4) Schlaak, *Dissertation*, p. 58.

It is first stated that the latter leave and then recapture Tartessus, and then that the Phœnicians do these things (see index under 'Phocæans' and 'Tartessus') (1). E. W. Evans says, 'The *Phocæans* is painfully obscure, an unintelligible fragment' (2).

Where such remarkable unanimity among critics is found, it might be imagined that there was nothing more to be said. A first reading of the poem certainly produces a sense of confusion in the mind. But that may be said of most poems which attempt something new; and this was the beginning of an epic, a sufficiently new departure in English literature of that date. The problem which arises in all such cases is that of deciding how much knowledge on the part of his readers a poet has the right to assume. Browning credited his audience with a depth and range of learning equal to his own, and his audience was therefore small; for years most people knew nothing more of him than his so-called obscurity. Had Landor continued to write poetry of the same kind as the *Phocæans* and *Gebir*, he would have suffered the fate of Browning, until, like him, by conceding a little to his critics, he had induced them to give him fair attention and study.

A consideration of Landor's poems soon proves that the charge of obscurity is based at least as much upon the readers' deficiencies as upon the author's faults. With a view to finding what the real difficulties are, a detailed examination of the *Phocæans* must now be undertaken. The chief object of this will be to explain the course of the narrative; further, to point out, wherever possible, the source to which the poet was indebted, and to give illustrations of his use of mythology, his choice of language and metrical style.

(1) Crump's Edition of *Landor*, X. pp. 337, 351.

(2) Evans, *Landor: A Critical Study*, p. 76.

ANALYSIS OF THE *PHOCÆANS*.

The poem consists, as already explained, of four fragments. The first and longest part, 659 lines, may be found in Crump's edition of Landor's Works, published 1909 (see Vol. II. of the *Poems and Dialogues in Verse*, pp. 59-76). It is reprinted from *Poetry by the Author of Gebir*, 1802 ⁽¹⁾.

Verses 1-12.—Beginning in the usual style of epic poetry Landor dedicates the fruits of his labour to Liberty :

Heroes of old would I commemorate ;
Those heroes, who obeyed the high decree
To leave Phocæa, and erect in Gaul
Empire, the fairest heaven had e'er design'd ;
And borne amongst them, I would dedicate
To thee, O Liberty, the golden spoils.

There is here, and in the lines immediately following, the same thought as in *Gebir*, Book VI., referring to the French Republic :

They shall o'er Europe, shall o'er Earth extend
Empire, that seas alone and skies confine,
And glory that shall strike the crystal stars.

Both passages were certainly written before the rise of Napoleon to power, and probably before his invasion of Egypt. They tend to confirm the conclusion that the *Phocæans* was written before *Gebir* (see *post*, pp. 61, 62, 89).

Verses 13-21.—The muses are invoked and called upon, as in Homer's *Iliad* or Virgil's *Æneid*, to explain how the events to be described were directed by the gods. The sacred cause which united Pallas and Neptune, so long severed in debate, was that of Greek freedom, now threatened by Persia. Both the strife and the reconciliation of the two gods are mentioned by Herodotus

(1) Copy at the British Museum.

‘ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθεός τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἐν τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην, ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας, μαρτύρια θέσθαι.’ (VIII. 55.)

The cause which united them according to Landor's meaning is given in VII. 192, where Herodotus relates that after the wreck of the Persian fleet the Greeks worshipped their protector under the name of Neptunus Servator.

The passage in the *Phocæans* where the gods, offended with Ceres, ordain that the eternal terror of proud thrones shall rise, may perhaps be best explained in the sense of a verse from the *Birth of Poesy*, I. 313 :

Among her crops deceitful Ceres rears
Resplendent bucklers and remorseless spears.

Enraged by the loss of her daughter, Ceres takes revenge, and the land is overrun with the Persian armies. Pallas and Neptune unite, and cause the freedom-loving Phocæans to rise against tyranny.

Verses 22-38.—The people of Priene, near the famous Mount of Mycale, where the Ionians from all the states used to assemble to celebrate the Panionian feasts (Herod., I. 148) suffered heavily in the war against Cyrus : ‘καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, Πριηνέας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο· τοῦτο δὲ, Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε, λήϊν ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ· Μαγνησίην δὲ ὤσαύτως.’ (I. 161.)

The comparison of Landor's lines with Herodotus renders clear what might otherwise, for most readers, be obscure. It is a poetical description of the invasion by Persian hordes, and is clearly written with the account of the Greek historian in mind. It affords a good example of the demands made upon the reader, who must apparently be acquainted with the history and geography of Asia Minor in order to grasp the full meaning.

36.

. . . Pactolus tore

His yellow hair with human blood defiled.

This river, a tributary of the Hermus, on which Phocæa stands, is described as gold-bearing (Herod., V. 101). The tendency to exaggeration in these lines, the personification of rivers and places, and the use of the word 'swains,' seem to me characteristic of Landor's earliest period.

Verses 39-69.—Phocæa alone refuses to accept the yoke of Persia. The bolder of her citizens set sail, and, piloted by Nearchus, arrive at Tartessus in distant Iberia. The incidents of their departure are not related here, being reserved for the *Narrative of Protis*, which forms the second fragment. Landor at this point departs somewhat from the history of Herodotus, who says (I. 162): 'πρώτη δὲ Φωκαίῃ Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε.' The name Nearchus does not occur in connection with the Phocæans, and has probably been borrowed from the famous admiral of Alexander (Justin, XIII. 4, 15). The river Hermus had at its mouth the town Phocæa.

Verses 70-79.—Protis, son of Cyrnus, appeals to Arganthonius, the King of Tartessus, for peace and protection. Other leaders of the exiled Ionians are Euxenus, Hyelus, and Cimos.

The visit to the king occurred, according to Herodotus (I. 163), before the final siege of Phocæa. The names Protis and Cimos are recorded by Justin (XLIII. 3). Hyelus, in the form Hyela, is given by Herodotus as the name of a Phocæan settlement in Rhegium (Herod., I. 167), while Cyrnus is the Greek name for Corsica (*Ibid.*, I. 165).

Verses 79-100.—'A realm so flourishing and prosperous' is a description in accordance with all ancient writers. It was the wealth of Tartessus that had caused the journey of Hercules thither, when he slew Geryon and drove off his herds of cattle.

(89) 'The hoary monarch': 'ἀπικόμοιοι δὲ εἰς τὸν Ταρτησσοῦν, προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησσίων, τῷ ὄνομα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθῶνιος· εὐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ οὐδωκοντα ἔτα, ἐβίωσε δὲ

πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατον.' (Herod., I. 163) (Strabo, 3, 151).

Verses 100-112.—The Iberian king receives the Greeks with warm friendship and sympathy: 'τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέες οἱ φωκαῖες οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένοντο.' (Herod., I. 163). He says: 'We too have endured insulting power, insatiate avarice,' referring to the attacks of the Carthaginians. The latter were then beginning to aim at the chief power in Iberia, and were pressing hard upon the natives.

But ere the wrongs we suffered half were told
The sun more rapid now his rays decline
Would leave the Atlantic wave.

Verses 112-119.—'The patriot chiefs' are, of course, the Tartessian leaders, as is clearly shown in verse 119, where they are described as hoping for the notice of their king.

Verses 120-146.—These lines describe the poet or minstrel Hymneus, who, disdaining his native Miletus, has served in Tartessus against the attacks of the Carthaginians. Herodotus relates that when the Ionian states prepared to resist Cyrus the Milesians alone refused to join the confederacy. Impelled by fear they made a treaty with the Persian (I. 142, 143), (125-129). Hymneus consoles himself in exile with the harp (130-132). This praise of pride is very characteristic of Landor's mind.

Mother of virtues to the virtuous man,
Her brilliant heavenly-temper'd ornaments
Tarnish to blackness at the touch of vice!

The whole description of the poet, who, desiring only to see his country free, is regarded as a traitor by those he would liberate, may be taken as meant for Landor himself.

Verses 147-159.—Arganthonius, seeing Hymneus, calls upon him to relate some of the troubles through which

Tartessus has lately passed. There are two lines which might conceivably give rise to confusion in the reader's mind.

Hymneus! and thou too here!'

There seems to be no reason why his presence should excite surprise. The words would be more appropriate if addressed to an old acquaintance just arrived with the Phocæans.

Again, the line,

Rise! trace the wanderings of thy comrades . . .

sounds like an invitation to one of the newcomers, whose long voyage has brought them to Tartessus. But this is not the meaning, since Hymneus proceeds to relate events that have happened at that place. Moreover he addresses the Phocæans, and not the Tartessians, in verse 504, ' 'Tis painful, O Phocæans.'

Landor possibly wrote the passage first as a request to one of the Phocæans and then corrected it insufficiently. It may be quoted here as an example of the language and style at its best :

Hymneus! and thou too here! thy glowing words
 Could once, arousing in the warrior's breast
 Enthusiastic rage, sublime the soul
 So far above the rocks where Danger broods,
 That she and all her monstrous progeny
 Groveling, and breathing fire, and shadow-winged,
 Become invisible—O thou of power
 With magic tones Affliction to disarm!
 Thou canst conjure up fury, call down hope,
 Or whisper comfort or inspire revenge.
 Rise! trace the wanderings of thy comrades, shew
 What men, relying on the Gods, can bear.

There would seem to be evidence in the force of language and freedom of metrical movement that the author had

already gained something from the greater writers of English blank verse. He had certainly read some parts of Shakespeare and Milton, and not without profit.

Verse 160.—

He ended here and Hymneus thus began.

The narrative of Hymneus is continued to the end of the first fragment, that called *From the Phocæans*. It seems to have no bearing upon the subject of the epic itself, being an account of the conflicts of the Tartessians with the Carthaginians. At first sight so long a diversion from the main theme seems an error in construction. But we are to remember that it was the author's intention to show his heroes, the Phocæans, also in conflict with the Carthaginians, and this would be then a kind of prelude. The reader is introduced to the enemy who were later to attack the Greeks on their way to Gaul.

Verses 161-176.—The Milesian poet relates that the Tartessians have lost much of their fertile lands, these being either left vacant or taken by the Tyrians. The maids of Sidon and Tyre weave designs showing the victories of their nation in war against the oppressed Tartessians.

This is evidently the meaning of his opening verses. They are a lament for the fallen glory of the land he has adopted, yielding now to the advancing power of the Phœnicians. Some confusion arises from the use of the name Tartessus, now for the people and now for the city or the land. The ancient writers apply it generally to the river, later called Guadalquivir, and thence to the land and to the city. (Cf. Strabo, lib. III., cap. IV. II., and Herod., I. 163).

A peculiarity of Landor's style, which often recurs and makes a first reading difficult, is seen here in the use of a pronoun for a substantive not previously introduced. The word 'thou' in verse 170 is explained by 'woman' in verse 175.

And thou, too, warm to fancy, warm to grief,
 In hall and arbour, shade and solitude.
 Whose bosom rises at the faintest breath
 From dizzy tower, dark dungeon, stormy rock,
 But rises not, nor moves, to public pangs—
 Woman ! our well-wrought anguish shalt admire !

Verses 177-188.—The tone changes to one of triumph, and the speaker goes on to draw hope and encouragement for the Phocæans from one of the Tartessian victories : ‘ But we have conquer’d.’ He means that once, when their fortunes were at the lowest ebb, they had gained their greatest success. (179) ‘ Ye fires ’ should be ‘ Ye sires.’

(186). ‘ While thus, revived by confidence, *they* rose, Fortune gave weight to fancy’s golden dreams.’ The reader is compelled to pause at the word ‘ they,’ and discovers after consideration that the pronoun refers, not to any preceding noun, but to ‘ golden dreams.’ This practice, which is surely a fault in style, may perhaps be attributed to Landor’s partiality for Latin.

Verses 189-200.—In an admirable simile beginning ‘ Thus from some desert rock,’ and closing with the words ‘ their strength, their voices, wreckt !’, the poet likens the overthrow and recapture of Tartessus to an escape from shipwreck. Unfortunately the punctuation in Crump’s edition is false, and tends to obscure the sense. There should be a full stop after the word ‘ wreckt,’ where the actual narrative is resumed ⁽¹⁾.

Verses 200-221.—Hymneus sings of the approach of spring, and compares the joy and innocence of Nature with the ambition and avarice of man.

For life-wrung purple to array their breast.

The Tyrians derived their famous purple dye from Tartessus and much silver from its mountains.

‘ In vain was nature gay,’ the shepherds and their flocks are soon to become the prey of an approaching foe.

(1) The punctuation is, however, that of Landor in *Poetry by the Author of Gebir*, 1802.

Verses 222-242.—The sudden and unexpected attack 'in the noon of peace' by a great naval force is described.

Fly, fly, what madness holds you in your streets?
 The Tyrians are behind; they climb the rocks
 Light and unnumbered as the brooding gulls—
 O fly, Tartessians! not a hope remains.

Verses 243-324.—The flight is described. The aged refuse to leave their homes (270) and their subsequent fate is told, while that of Tyre is prophesied (275).

Verse 276 should read 'Nor help is any near'; the misprint in the original edition has been retained by Crump. 'But others hasten'd to the far off heights of Calpe': the distance is too great to be covered in a single day; yet the whole action, the flight and the return, seems to be completed within twenty-four hours. Landor himself was perhaps in doubt on the point (cf. *post*, p. 47). The narrative is condensed, but there is no difficulty if we assume that the majority of the fugitives remain upon the heights near Tartessus. This is implied by the words, 'But hither few arrive, now darkness reigns around' (300). Some think they hear the calls of those left behind (311), which proves clearly enough that they at least remain near the city.

Verses 325-355.—The place where the Tartessians take refuge is the scene of incidents in the Hercules legend. This explains the lengthy digression (335-355) which introduces that hero and his labours. The sense is not clear, but may be most easily explained by assuming that the hills near Gades are meant.

335. Here, love, ambition, labour, victory,
 Injustice, vengeance, Hercules forgot.

According to the Tyrian version of the myth, the town of Gades was founded by Hercules, and there his labours and voyages ended in death. (Cf. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, 3 Auflage, Vol. II., p. 208.)

There, says the poet, he forgot his strife with the false Laomedon of Troy. He it was who refused to fulfil his promise, when the hero had destroyed the dragon (*ibid.*, II. p. 234). (350-353). At Lerna he had killed the Hydra. 'Blue-eyed Lerna, lily-crowned' may be the nymph Amymone, for whom Poseidon caused the spring to gush from the ground, or it may be a poetical description of the spring itself.

354. 'Twas there he started, matchless in the race ;
The race was run ; and Calpe was the goal.

Whatever the mythological allusion may be, it is evident the place must be at some distance from Calpe.

It is interesting to observe that all these references to the adventures of Hercules add nothing whatever to the narrative, and are for most readers too obscure to strengthen the description. They are ornaments, indicating the poet's classical taste, and tending to show that his knowledge both of Latin and Greek authors must have been considerable. But he had not yet arrived at the stage when he could use such materials to enrich his poetry without distracting the attention of the reader from the main theme. A good example is contained in the verses 350-353 :

While thro' the bulrushes the hero stept,
Slow, and intently looking round him, waved
His torch, and blue-eyed Lerna, lily-crowned,
Shook at the shadow of a future God.

It is highly poetic in thought and expression, but has no connection with the subject.

Verses 356-376.—The speaker turns again to the Tartesians, who have fled to this place of refuge from the steel of Sidon and of Tyre.

358. . . . Oceans rose
To waft her, suns to strow the yielding way.
Hers were the realms of night—each star was hers.

Attention has already been called to the line in Pope here borrowed. The Phœnicians were highly skilled in the art of navigation by the guidance of the stars.

361-365. The Lebanon was usually regarded by the Easterns as the place where Adonis perished, and that neighbourhood was a principal centre for the celebrations. These might take place either in spring or at midsummer ⁽¹⁾.

In the poem, the matrons of the victorious Phœnicians leave the city to celebrate the sad solemnity, which would in springtime consist first in the lament for the death of Adonis; then, on the day following, his return to life would be joyfully greeted with song and dance.

Landor makes no attempt to indicate the passage of time. There is nothing to show whether these events immediately follow the day of the Tartessian flight or happen after an interval. The point is immaterial, but this condensed style of narrative leaves the reader dissatisfied. More than anything else it accounts for the so-called obscurity of the *Phœnians*. To the present writer it seems clear that the presence of the Phœnician women in Tartessus, and their leaving the conquered city for the festival, prove that Landor here supposed a few days to have elapsed ⁽²⁾. In that case the spacing is bad; the break should occur after verse 355. It may be added that both in this respect and in punctuation the work as printed leaves much to be desired. By a few alterations such obscurity as exists could easily be removed. Verses 366-376, though containing a beautiful description of the spring festival, are ruined by the bad punctuation. As it stands in Crump's edition the passage does not make sense ⁽³⁾.

Verses 377-421.—The mountaineers of Nebrissa go to the same place, beside Lacippo's stream, to celebrate their

⁽¹⁾ Preller, *Griech. Myth.*, 4 Aufl., I. pp. 359 and 364.

⁽²⁾ Cf. p. 45, above.

⁽³⁾ Cf. p. 44, note, above. Landor's punctuation in all these early poems leaves much to be desired.

Bacchanalian orgies. The tearing of the heifer and other rites are described. Discovering the Tyrian women, they carry them off to their dwellings in the hills, as further described in verses 526-541. Nebrissa is referred to in Strabo as a place on the estuary of the river Bætis (or Tartessus). Lacippo seems to be a name invented by Landor. He whom Hellespontic Lampsacus adores is Priape, or Dionysius under that title. The change of scene and action at this point seems again to require a break between these verses and those which follow.

Verses 422-503.—While these events happen at Lacippo, the fugitive Tartessians return under cover of the darkness (431), and take ambush in a wood near the city. They see bands of Tyrians depart to join their women at day-break, and, encouraged by this, they fall upon the town and put the enemy to flight with great slaughter. A few only escape to the ships :

478. Hundreds and fortunate are they, prolong
Sleep into death nor ever know the change.

The fight is vividly described, and the verse is skilfully handled :

485. O'er their companions in the crowded strand
Death, leading up night's rear, her banner waves
Invisible, but rustling like the blast
That strips the fallen year : with arms outstretched
Dismay before her pushes on ; and Fear,
Crouching unconscious close beside her, casts
A murky paleness o'er her wing black-plumed.

The description of the dawn may also be given as evidence of a growing appreciation of Nature, and of a power to reproduce in a few words strong visual impressions.

Till from the valleys deep the fogs arise
Perceptible ; while on the summits Morn
Her saffron robe and golden sceptre lays.

(443). 'Geryon's tomb.' It was in this country that Hercules slew the three-headed or three-bodied Geryon, son of Chrysaor (Herod., IV. 8-10; Justin, XLIV. 4).

The word 'Pataëcus' in verse 484, on which Landor adds a note, is explained by Herodotus (III. 37) as the name of the small images which the Tyrians used to carry on the prows of their triremes.

Verses 504-659.—The narrative tells the fate of the Tyrians who had left the city to join their women at Lacippo. These had been carried away by the Bacchanalian peasants, as already described. Two Nebrissan boys, Sycus and Amphyllion, who had followed the mountaineers, are now caught by the enraged Tyrians and sacrificed to avenge the loss of their wives. They then return to find the city in the hands of the Tartessians, and flying to the woods they die of grief and famine.

This concluding part of the poem is certainly somewhat complicated. The verses 504-514 are to be taken as introductory. They prepare the reader, after informing him of events in Tartessus, for what takes place at Lacippo. Of all this, however, Hymneus could only know the outcome; and it is by a somewhat large poetic licence that he now relates what he had not actually seen. He laments the horrors of war, to which even the most innocent fall victim, in lines as perfect as any Landor has written. One example may be given:

512-514. You, playing near life's threshold strown with flowers,
Common indeed, but sweet, and all your own,
Death snatcht away, and flap't her raven wing.

Verse 515, 'The Tyrians sally forth,' takes up again the course of events previously referred to in verse 444, and from this point the narrative moves forward to the end with only one interruption, namely 526-541, where the fate of the Tyrian women is described.

There is in verse 655 an allusion, which most readers would find obscure, to Atys, who, by madness driven, left

his father's home, never to see it more. The simile has little force, if it be supposed that the beautiful Phrygian loved by Cybele is meant (cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 4, 223). Finding in the poem so much reliance upon Herodotus, we may assume that Landor here refers to the son of Cræsus. His story, which bears a curious resemblance to the Atys myth, is graphically narrated by the historian (I. 34-43); but its application to the fate of the defeated Carthaginians is not close. Like many of the mythical and historical allusions, it makes undue demands upon the reader.

PROTIS'S NARRATIVE (1).

Whatever difficulties there may be in following the narrative examined above, there are certainly none in that which follows.

Arganthonius now calls upon the Phocæans to tell their story and Protis the leader begins :

‘ O King ! the stranger finds in thee a friend
Who found none in his kindred. But reproach
Better becomes the weak than firmer breast.
We will not turn to those who past us by
In the dark hour : from such and from the land,
Where Pelops in the days of heroes reigned,
We speed to Delphi : we consult the God ’ (2).

Verses 1-58.—The oracle foretells long wanderings, war, treachery, and hostile kings and princes. It is variously received. The Delphic shrine is described in the following verses, which seem to me reminiscent of a passage in Pope :

10-17. Scarce half the steps surmounted sprang the roof ;
The gorgeous walls grew loftier every step ;
In gracile ranks of regular advance
The melting pillars rose like polisht air :

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Wheeler, *Letters*, 1897, p. 136.

The floor too, seemed ascending, seemed to wave
 Its liquid surface like the heaven-hued sea ;
 Throughout reflecting, variously displayed,
 Deviceful piety and massive prayers.

(Cf. Pope, *Temple of Fame*, 89-92.)

There might you see the length'ning spires ascend,
 The domes swell up, the wid'ning arches bend,
 The glowing towers like exhalations rise,
 And the high columns heave into the skies.

The latter may have suggested the idea which Landor with so much greater imaginative power, works into a splendid picture. The example is interesting, because Pope in this juvenile poem has certainly borrowed some features of his temple from Milton. Thus in the latter (*P. L.*, I., 710-730) a 'fabric huge rose like an exhalation ;' there are 'Doric pillars overlaid with golden architrave,' 'the roof was fretted gold,' the doors have 'brazen folds,' and 'from the arched roof pendant by subtle magic many a row of starry lamps yielded light as from a sky.' In Pope's *Temple of Fame* we find 'towers like exhalations rise,' 'brazen gates,' 'Doric pillars crown'd with architrave,' 'roofs of fretted gold,' and 'as heav'n with stars, the roof with jewels glows, and everliving lamps depend in rows.' Landor does not borrow like this, but here has something of Pope, while in a similar connection in *Gebir* he approaches Milton (see *post*, p. 86).

(19). The Sardinian vases, gift of Cræsus, are described by Herodotus: 'κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσειον καὶ ἀργύρεον ; and further, περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσειόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον' (I. 51).

It is from this source also that the account of Cræsus and Ecbatana is taken (Herod., I. 51-56, 77-81, etc.).

The note describing the seven walls of Ecbatana is a translation of Herod., I. 98. Moreover, the ideas relating to the oracle and the feelings of the disappointed seekers, as described in this passage, were perhaps suggested by similar events in the *History* (I. 157 ff).

Verses 50-58 display a manner which is more frequent in *Gebir*. The heaping up of substantives may indicate that the study of Milton, who so often employs the same artifice, had already begun to influence Landor's style.

Taunt, accusation, contumely, curse
 Questioning stamp and pale-lipt pious sneer,
 Confusion, consternation, mystery,
 Procession, retrogression, vortexes
 Of hurry, wildernesses of delay :
 Each element, each animal, each glance,
 Each motion, now, admonisht them, each bird
 Now bore the thunder of almighty Jove,
 Each fibre trembled with Phocæa's fate (1).

It reads like an experiment overdone. The gain in vividness arising from such condensation is effected at the expense of harmony.

Verses 59-83.—They had left Phocæa to seek the help of Athens or Sparta. But their hopes had been disappointed, and they now decide to take refuge in the Cænusian isle not far from Phocæa. The refusal of Sparta is recorded by Herodotus, thus: ‘Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ ἄγγελοι, (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησσόμενα,) εἶλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ δὲ πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι πλείστοι συνελθοῖεν Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ καταστάς, ἔλεγε πολλά, τιμωρέειν ἑωυτοῖσι χρηζών’ (I. 152). Pythermus appears in the *Narrative of Protis* also as an ardent speaker. The Lacedæmonians refuse help, and the Phocæans determine to acquire the Cænusian island by purchase from the Chians (I. 165).

Verses 84-109.—The return to Phocæa of those who have been seeking help and have consulted the oracle is now described.

(1) See *post*, p. 87.

102. Dear native land ! last parent, last—but lost !
 What rivers flow, what mountains rise, like thine ?
 Bold rise thy mountains, rich thy rivers flow,
 Fresh breathes thy air, and breathes not o'er the free !

Verses 110-142.—Their native city is now in a state of siege ; Harpagus and the Persians resist the landing, but the Phocæans fight their way into the city. According to Herodotus the victorious onslaught was made from Cænusia after the final departure from the besieged town (I. 165). The description of the fight is vivid. Forster selected it for special praise (¹), but there are many other passages equally deserving of admiration.

In the line,

And distant helmets drop like falling stars,

the simile may perhaps be referred to Milton (*P. L.*, I. 145).

Verses 143-171.—Prodicus, whose death and funeral are here narrated, does not appear elsewhere in the story, nor in the *History*. In choosing this name, Landor may have had in mind Aristodicus, the patriot of Cumæ, whose defiance of the oracle is mentioned by Herodotus (I. 157 ff).

153. When from his sphere the mighty falls,
 Men, proud of shewing interest in his fate,
 Run to each other and with oaths protest
 How wretched and how desolate they are.
 The good departs, and silent are the good.
 Here none with labour'd anguish howl'd the dirge,
 None from irriguous Ida, cypress-crown'd,
 Blew mournfully the Mariandyne pipe ;

There are inequalities and occasional lapses into the commonplace, as for instance in the lines immediately preceding those just quoted, where we read :

The honest crew was gloomy, thro' such gloom
 We best discern, and weigh, and value tears.

The word ' crew ' thus employed is unusual. Milton uses

(¹) *Biography*, I., p. 180.

it twenty-two times, and always, except once, with derogatory force; generally his crew consists of devils.

Verses 172-192.—Four men of Chios arrive bearing the demand of the Persian king that the Phocæans shall either flee the island or submit. In Herodotus, the Chians are said to have refused the Phocæans' request, because they feared commercial rivalry (I. 165).

Verses 193-247.—The Phocæan orator Pythermus replies with scorn. His speech is full of intense feeling, and the language is dramatic in its combined force and liveliness of expression. It is unfortunate that the remarkable poetry of the speech of Pythermus should be practically lost to English readers. As in the whole of this poem, the source for many of the thoughts is Herodotus. His mention of Pythermus and of his eloquence has been given (*ante*, p. 52). The view taken of the sordid policy of the Chians is based on Herod., I. 165, where they refuse refuge to the Phocæans, fearing their commercial rivalry, and on their gross betrayal of Pactyas (I. 157 ff). Of Thales the historian informs us, that he predicted the eclipse of the sun (I. 74); diverted, so the Greeks believed, the course of the river Halys, that Croesus might more easily invade Persian territory (I. 75); and exhorted the Ionians to make common cause against Persia in one centre, 'τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ· Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης' (I. 170).

Verses 248-320.—Protis goes on to relate, how some give way to fear and finally, breaking their oath, return in twelve ships to Phocæa. The rest set sail for distant lands (cf. Herod., I. 165).

Verses 255-262 record the splendid oath of the Phocæans, when they threw red-hot iron ('moulten iron' in Landor's version) into the sea, and swore never to return until it should rise glowing from the water.

(263) 'Years are more.' Here again, as in the first fragment, the lapse of time is only vaguely indicated. From this verse it appears that years passed between the

taking of the oath and the departure for Iberia. Landor therefore does not agree with his historical source, where the two events are closely associated (Herod., I. 165). Moreover, at this time Arganthonius was dead, and the destination of the wanderers was not Iberia, but Corsica, where they had already built Alalia (*ibid.*).

Verses 321-338.—After sacrificing to Poseidon the spirit of Thales is invoked. A note on verse 321 attributes to him the first application to nautical purposes of the Ursa Minor. As already stated, Herodotus mentions his skill in astronomy (I. 74), and this may well have suggested to Landor these lines.

Verses 339-345.—The singular vigour of passages, which, like this, express colonial scorn of the motherland, arises without doubt from the poet's feeling on the American question. But the element of almost personal bitterness may also derive some of its force from his own experiences. He wrote this part perhaps not long after his expulsion from Oxford, when for some time he contemplated voluntary exile, or during his first year in Wales, when he felt like a banished patriot.

The lines which were to conclude the whole poem were written at some later date and have been published by Wheeler (¹). They show that it was long before Landor finally gave up the intention of completing his epic. The Phocæans have reached the end of their wanderings and wars, and are settled apparently in Massilia. The verses, forty-seven in number, have a different character from those of the other fragments. They are smoother and free from excessive condensation. The subject also, a dream or vision, is far removed from the clear-cut, strongly-lighted realities of his earlier poems.

Here stood three maidens, who seem'd ministers
To nine more stately, standing somewhat higher
Than these demure ones of the downcast smile :
Silent they seem'd ; not silent all the nine.

(¹) Wheeler, *Letters*, p. 236.

One sang aloud, one was absorb'd in grief
 Apparently for youths who lately bled ;
 Others there were who, standing more elate,
 Their eyes upturn'd, their nostrils wide expanded,
 Their lips arch't largely ; and to raise the hymn
 Were lifted lyres ; so seemed it ; but the skill
 Of art Hellenic forged the grand deceit.

. . . Was it a dream ?

I thought the Delian left his pedestal
 A living God, I thought he touched my brow ;
 Then issued forth this hymn, the very hymn
 I caught from the full choir, the last they sang :

The influence of Keats' *Hyperion* on this, or of this on the *Hyperion*, can hardly be doubted. But the lines were not published until 1897. The question of the relation to one another of these two poets, so different, and yet both so deeply under Hellenic influence, would be of great interest, but is beyond the scope of this study. It will be sufficient to mention here that Landor certainly at a later period read and admired Keats. To this I attribute more than one allusion in his writings ; for instance in the *Apology for Gebir* (Crump, II., p. 266).

No, no : but let me ask in turn
 Whether, whene'er Corinthian urn,
 With ivied Faun upon the rim
 Invites, I may not gaze on him ?
 I love all beauty : . . .

which seems to allude to Keats' *Ode on a Grecian Urn*.

It would be strange also if Keats owed nothing to the older and more accomplished Hellenist : but this must be reserved for consideration later.

The conclusions to be drawn from the study of the *Phocæans* may now be briefly stated.

There is no obscurity whatever in the second fragment, the *Narrative of Protis*. There is some confusion in the first fragment, but not more, as regards the narrative, than is inseparable from the attempt to present incidents which are supposed to happen at the same time in different

places. The acts of the Tartessians, Nebrissans, and Iberians are interwoven, and are not easy at first sight to unravel. A little study is all that is needed. The critics above quoted have not given fair attention to the works they criticise. It seems to me that only Forster has actually read the whole of that published by Landor. None of them points out where the obscurity really lies.

The mythology is by no means obvious to the non-classical reader, and for that reason, without pursuing the subject far, the meanings which seem most probable have been suggested in the foregoing analysis.

Landor did not, as maintained by E. W. Evans and Schlaak, turn to blank verse under the influence of Milton. There is very little evidence, if any, of such influence in the whole of the *Phocæans*.

His classical studies, his attempts to reproduce Virgil and others in English verse, rhymed after the manner of Pope, in the poems of 1795 and in blank verse as quoted by Forster, must have convinced him of the great superiority of the latter medium.

Therefore he naturally chose this when, about 1795, he began to write or to plan his epic of the Phocæans. That, as we have seen, was based on Herodotus, and displays a wide acquaintance with Greek mythology. His work itself shows the influence of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. I conclude that he wrote in blank verse because he had acquired something of the true spirit of those epics, and of course of Virgil. Just as Pope could not have written his version of the *Iliad* had he possessed a thorough knowledge of the original, so Landor, having gained that knowledge, could no longer confine himself to the heroic couplet of Pope. We know that about this time, apart from what has been said of his reliance on Herodotus, he had undertaken the study of Pindar and Thucydides. Without suggesting that there could have been a sharp dividing line between a Latin and a Greek period in his development, it seems right to infer that the change of his

taste in English poetry corresponded with a nearer approach to and better understanding of the authors of ancient Greece.

There were few English writers of blank verse, apart from Shakespeare and Milton, who could have greatly attracted or influenced him. Those two he must have read, and probably he gained from Shakespeare something of the dramatic force to be found in parts of the *Phocæans*. Of Milton there is little or no trace either in subject or in style. The chief characteristic of the latter, that of extreme condensation, he owes to Pindar, and it would hardly be too much to say that the whole inspiration of the poem was not English, but Hellenic.

One peculiarity strikes the reader of the *Phocæans* as a serious defect. It is an epic without a hero. There is no central figure, no one whose exploits stand out. Perhaps that accounts in part for Landor's loss of interest in it. He abandoned it most likely to take up *Gebir*. He had passed from the interests of the lecture room to those of life itself. He had formed attachments; his outlook had become more personal; he had learnt to love and suffer. All this changed his poetic inspiration from the historical and political tendencies of the *Phocæans* to the more individual and romantic feelings of *Gebir*. Then, acting upon and directing these other forces, came the influence of Milton. This factor forms the chief subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

GEBIR.

Landor's most important poem, *Gebir*, was written chiefly in 1797, and perhaps completed in the spring of 1798, the year of its publication ⁽¹⁾. The source of the story and the history of the text have been fully discussed by Dr. Robert Schlaak in his *Entstehungs- u. Textgeschichte von Landor's Gebir* ⁽²⁾.

In that study the view is put forward that the metrical form and diction of the poem have been strongly influenced by Landor's study of Milton: 'Immerhin lässt sich wenigstens der metrischen Form und Diktion nach mit den Gedichten, die der junge Landor bis zum Jahre 1798 verfasst hat, eine Gruppierung in zwei scharf getrennte Perioden vornehmen: (1) Einfluss des Neuklassizismus, besonders kenntlich an der Verwendung des heroic couplet. (2) Einfluss Miltons, durch Pflege des Blankverses charakterisiert' ⁽³⁾. And again: 'Landor hat aus seinem Gleichzeitigen Milton-Studium für seine Versetechnik wie für Wortschatz und Bilderreichtum Vorteil gezogen, was aber der Selbständigkeit seiner Dichtung keinerlei Abbruch tut' ⁽⁴⁾.

Colvin expresses the same opinion in more general terms, and without suggesting that Landor was actually indebted to Milton. He writes: 'For loftiness of thought and language together, there are passages in *Gebir* that will bear comparison with Milton. There are

⁽¹⁾ See *ante*, pp. 9 and 33.

⁽²⁾ Published, Halle, 1909.

⁽³⁾ Schlaak, p. 55.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

lines too that for majesty of rhythm will bear the same comparison ; but majestic as Landor's blank verse often is, it is always too regular ; it exhibits none of the Miltonic variety, none of the inventions in violation or suspension of ordinary metrical law, by which that great master draws unexampled tones from his instrument' (1).

E. W. Evans also compares *Gebir* with *Paradise Lost*, and, evidently regarding it as Landor's next work after the poems of 1795, ascribes the remarkable advance to his careful and enthusiastic study of Milton (2).

Now one of the earliest critics of the poem, writing in the *Monthly Review* (3), had attributed the resemblance, about which all seem to be agreed, to actual borrowing. His charge was as follows : 'He has fallen into the common error of those who aspire to the composition of blank verse, by borrowing too many phrases and epithets from our incomparable Milton.' Landor, in the *Post-script to Gebir*, made the obvious reply : 'I challenge him to produce them.' As yet no one has made the attempt to meet the challenge. Even the more general statements of the later critics quoted above seem to call for more evidence than is actually given. Dr. Schlaak, it is true, has called attention to some slight traces of Milton's influence, and has quoted two passages from *Paradise Lost* as especially susceptible to comparison with passages from *Gebir*. It is worthy of remark that one of these is that chosen by E. W. Evans for the same purpose, and originally by Forster. The latter, quoting the lines in question (V. 1-13), says, 'there is what might have satisfied the ear of Milton himself' (4).

This paucity of illustration would seem to indicate that the supposed resemblance to Milton, and therefore his influence, has been somewhat over-estimated. It may

(1) Colvin's *Landor*, p. 27.

(2) E. W. Evans, *A Critical Study of Landor*, p. 65.

(3) 1800, Vol. XXXI., p. 206 ; Forster, I., p. 126.

(4) Schlaak, p. 61 ; cf. Evans, p. 73, and Forster, I., p. 95.

be, however, that the writers above quoted have not intended to do more than make general observations on the subject. Dr. Schlaak certainly discusses the external evidence for the influence of Milton, and makes it seem extremely probable that Landor was indebted to him more than to any other English poet. But he overlooks one factor in the problem—the very important one of the poet's previous work in the same style of poetry.

There were not, as he maintains, two sharply divided periods in Landor's development, but a gradual, though rapid, growth. Before he published the Juvenile poems in 1795, he had written blank verse translations, one of which, in the opinion of Forster, deserves to rank with any of his later work ⁽¹⁾. Another, the *Medea at Corinth*, he embodied without change in the poem *To Corinth* ⁽²⁾, published many years later. Moreover, during this earliest period he wrote the *Phocæans*, which has been considered above. There was therefore no sudden spring from imitations of Pope to blank verse in the style of Milton. There is very little evidence of the latter's influence in the *Phocæans*, and yet that poem shows a marked resemblance to its successor, *Gebir*.

An interesting example of the advance from the former to the latter may be seen in the following passages.

From the Phocæans, verse 4 :

. . . and erect in Gaul
Empire, the fairest heaven had e'er design'd ;

Gebir, VI.

Captivity led captive, war o'erthrown,
They shall o'er Europe, shall o'er Earth extend
Empire that seas alone and skies confine,
And glory that shall strike the crystal stars ⁽³⁾.

The same idea is in both, but in the later composition it has been expanded and invested with visionary

⁽¹⁾ Forster, pp. 36-40.

⁽²⁾ Crump, Vol. VIII., p. 85.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

splendour. This new element is borrowed from Milton, or at least may be fairly attributed to his influence.

Paradise Lost :

Captivity led captive (X. 188)
 he shall ascend (XII. 369)
 The throne hereditary, and bound his Reign
 With earth's wide bounds, his glory with the Heav'ns.

If the opening lines of the *Phocæans* be examined, it will be seen that they approach very nearly to those quoted from *Gebir*; but if the earlier poem be left out of consideration, the debt to Milton might be exaggerated. In the instance given, there is, of course, the possibility that the passage from the *Phocæans* may be a later addition. But the main argument holds, that Landor had already written a considerable poem in blank verse before he wrote *Gebir*, and the influence of that earlier work must be taken into account in studying the later.

In the present chapter, an attempt will be made to estimate more definitely the influence of Milton upon Landor, and especially to bring forward evidence on which a conclusion may be based.

Some influence of the kind might almost be taken for granted in the case of any writer of English blank verse who chooses for his subject a lofty or heroic theme. Moreover, in the present case, we have the poet's frequent references to Milton scattered through his writings, which tend on the whole to support the assumption. Not only the poetry, but also the character, political faith, and classical learning of the great republican poet were bound sooner or later to attract Landor.

Thus, in the following lines, he pays tribute to the man as well as to the poet :

I told ye, since the prophet Milton's day
 Heroic song hath never swept the Earth
 To soar in flaming chariot up to Heaven.

.

One man above all other men is great,
 Even on this globe, where dust obscures the sign,
 God closed his eyes to pour into his heart
 His own pure wisdom. In chill house he sate,
 Fed only on those fruits the hand divine
 Disdain'd not, thro' his angels, to impart.

(Crump, Vol. VIII., p. 244.)

In the *Ode to Sicily* :

No mortal hand hath struck the heroic string
 Since Milton's lay in death across his breast.

(*Ibid.*, p. 237.)

He resents any comparison of his hero with even the greatest of nineteenth-century poets. Thus :

Will mortals never know each other's station
 Without the herald ? O abomination !
 Milton, even Milton, rankt with living men !
 Over the highest Alps of mind he marches,
 And far below him spring the baseless arches
 Of Iris, colouring dimly lake and fen.

(*Ibid.*, p. 132.)

In the lines on Shakespeare and Milton, he claims that these two alone will make the English language immortal :

The tongue of England, that which myriads
 Have spoken and will speak, were paralyzed
 Hereafter, but two mighty men stand forth
 Above the flight of ages, two alone ;

(*Ibid.*, p. 252.)

Where Landor ventures to compare these two greatest, he seems to award the palm, at any rate for the harmony of his poetry, to Milton. In the '*Imaginary Conversation*' between Southey and Landor, in which they discuss the faults and weaknesses to be found in *Paradise Lost*, the following occurs : 'How divinely beautiful is the next passage ! It is impossible not to apply to Milton himself the words he has attributed to Eve :

From thee

How shall I part ? and whither wander down
 Into a lower world ?

My ear, I confess it, is dissatisfied with everything, for days and weeks, after the harmony of *Paradise Lost*. Leaving this magnificent temple, I am hardly to be pacified by the fairy-built chambers, the rich cupboards of embossed plate, and the omnigenous images of Shakespeare.' (*Ibid.*, Vol. IV., p. 240.) (1).

Occasionally, though very rarely, Landor seems to acknowledge himself in some sense a disciple of Milton. In the *Ode to Wordsworth* he writes :

Our course by Milton's light was sped,
And Shakespeare shining overhead :
Chatting on deck was Dryden too,
The Bacon of the rhyming crew ;

(*Ibid.*, VIII., p. 179.)

To these few extracts may be added the significant allusion contained in the preface to the first edition of *Gebir* : 'I have written in blank verse because there never was a poem in rhyme that grew not tedious in a thousand lines.' Landor could speak from experience, having in the *Birth of Poesy* composed more than that number of rhymed verses ; he probably found it tedious, since he left it unfinished. He continues : 'My choice is undoubtedly the most difficult of the two : for how many have succeeded in rhyme, in the structure at least : how few comparatively in blank verse. There is Akenside, there is Armstrong, there is, above all, the poet of our republic.'

On the other hand it is clear that, however much Landor may have studied and admired Milton, he was at no time conscious of having taken him for a model, far less of having imitated him. He says indeed : 'I disapprove of models, even of the most excellent. Faults may be avoided, especially if they are pointed out to the in-

(1) The concluding words of the 'Conversation' quoted may be compared with the above extract :—'A rib of Shakespeare would have made a Milton ; the same portion of Milton, all poets born ever since' (p. 246).

experienced in such bright examples as Milton ; . . . But every man's mind, if there is enough of it, has its peculiar bent. Milton may be imitated, where he is pedantic ; and probably those men we take for mockers were unconscious of their mockery. But who can teach, or who is to be taught, his richness, or his tenderness, or his strength ? The closer an inferior poet comes to a great model, the more disposed am I to sweep him out of my way.' (Crump, Vol. IV., p. 246.)

Landor has left on record not only such general views as those in the last extract, but also a special discussion of the subject in its bearing on his own work.

In reply to the reviewer ⁽¹⁾ of *Gebir*, who accused him of borrowing from Milton, he wrote the so-called *Postscript to Gebir*, and printed it, though apparently it was never actually published ⁽²⁾. Written in 1800, so soon after the poem with which it deals, this evidence of the poet's attitude to the question cannot be overlooked.

After indignantly repelling the accusation of having borrowed expressions from Milton, he continues : ' But I feared to break open for the supply of my games or for the maintenance of my veteran heroes, the sacred treasures of the great republican.'

It may be observed that there is here an admission. The words imply that he took care to avoid the direct imitation and borrowing of which he had been accused. They convey also the meaning that he had been aware of the danger of approaching too near to Milton. In what follows he seems to be replying to those later critics who agree that *Gebir* can only be compared with *Paradise Lost* : ' For the language of *Paradise Lost* ought not to be the language of *Gebir*. There should be the softened air of remote antiquity, not the severe air of unapproachable sanctity. I devoutly offer up my incense at the shrine

⁽¹⁾ See *ante*, p. 60.

⁽²⁾ A printed copy may be seen, bound up with some poems, among the volumes of the Forster Bequest, South Kensington Museum.

of Milton. Woe betide the intruder that should steal its jewels! It requires no miracle to detect the sacrilege. The crime will be found its punishment. The venerable saints, and still more holy personages, of Raphael or Michael Angelo, might as consistently be placed among the Bacchanals and Satyrs, bestriding the goats, and bearing the vases of Poussin, as the resemblance of that poem, or any of its component parts, could be introduced in mine' (1).

After a defence of this kind, one would expect any future critic to refrain from the attack unless well provided with reasons and examples.

Before leaving the *Postscript* it may be well to examine the views there laid down on the general question of literary imitation. Landor writes: 'Plagiarism, imitation and allusion, three shades that soften from blackness into beauty, are by the glaring eye of the malevolent blended into one.' He then proceeds to give illustrations from Racine and Pope, of whom he says: 'In comparison with others they seem greater than they really are: their lustre is clear and pure but borrowed and reflected' (2). The couplet already discussed (see p. 30) follows; and it may here be recalled that this very instance of plagiarism on the part of Pope might also have been urged against himself with double force. After other examples he adds: 'The law of plagiarism is somewhat on the Spartan model. You are punished not because you steal, but because you are detected thro' want of spirit and address in carrying off your booty.'

In some at least of the examples given here and elsewhere many would not agree that actual imitation can be recognised. For example, the line

Et lave dans le sang le fer ensanglanté

is said to be an imitation of the line in Æschylus, *Choæphoræ*, ep. 2, which he gives in English thus:

(1) Forster, I. p. 130.

(2) Cf. *ante*, p. 5.

Wide thro' the house a tide of blood
Flows where a former tide had flowed.

Again, in the conversation with Southey he quotes the following :

Shone with a glossy scurf, undoubted sign
That in his womb was hid metallic ore.

(*Paradise Lost*, VIII. 672.)

Milton is said to be displaying his recollection of the line in Virgil :

Uterumque armato militi complent (1).

This case at least is rather far-fetched, and must appear more so when it is known that the word 'womb' occurs in this or a similar figurative sense ten times in the same poet's works (2).

Having now seen what Landor himself had to say on the question of his relationship to Milton, so far as that may have affected *Gebir*, we may proceed to a closer examination of the problem.

There seems to be no doubt that the period when he first became familiar with *Paradise Lost* was that during which he wrote his own chief poem. We have the fact in his own words: 'My prejudices in favour of ancient literature began to wear away on *Paradise Lost*; and even the great hexameter sounded to me tinkling, when I had recited in my solitary walks on the sea-shore the haughty appeal of Satan and the deep penitence of Eve' (3). It is remarkable that the discovery then made should have been so long postponed. The explanation may, perhaps, be found in his attitude towards the theological elements in Milton's epic.

On this point he has made the following statement: 'My predilection in youth was on the side of Homer; for I read the *Iliad* twice, and the *Odyssea* once, before the

(1) Crump, IV. p. 205.

(2) Lexicon to Milton's *Poetical Works*, Lockwood.

(3) Crump, III. p. 280.

Paradise Lost. Averse as I am to everything relating to theology, and especially to the view of it thrown open by the poem, I recur to it incessantly as the noblest specimen in the world of eloquence, harmony, and genius' (1).

Some slight knowledge of Milton he had certainly gained at a much earlier period, as may be inferred from the lines :

. . . the force
Of Milton was for boyhood too austere
Yet often did I steal a glance at Eve (2).

There is also the evidence of his Latin poems contained in the 1795 collection (cf. *ante*, p. 5). However much that may indicate, the influence on his poetry previous to *Gebir* was extremely slight. There is, then, a strong presumption in favour of regarding the difference between the *Phocæans* and *Gebir* as due to the study of Milton. It will be convenient to consider the question in three divisions, under the headings Subject, Style and Language.

SUBJECT.—The marked contrast between the theme of *Gebir* and that of the *Phocæans* corresponds in all probability with personal experiences in the author's life. The earlier work is devoid of romantic elements. It has no hero, and deals neither with love nor death, nor any other of the greater realities of individual life. It relates, in close accord with its historical source, the trials of a people in their struggle for freedom.

In *Gebir*, on the other hand, Landor has taken as his basis an Arabian romance and handled it freely to suit his purpose. That the mere choice of the subject was in any way influenced by the study of Milton is out of the question. It seems more likely that he had already begun to take some slight interest in Oriental literature, and may thus have been first attracted to the story (3).

(1) Crump, IV. p. 245.

(2) Cf. *ante*, p. 16.

(3) Cf. *post*, p. 107.

But this is a mere suggestion, and, being without further evidence, we must be content with his own explanation, that he found in the material before him 'magnificum nescio quid sub crepusculo vetustatis' (1). More remarkable than the choice of subject is the use that he made of it. He has converted a fable without much meaning and devoid of serious human interest into a poem full of restrained passion with a central idea of universal application to mankind.

The hero, Gebir, to fulfil a vow, undertakes a war of aggression. To ambition is added the motive of love of Charoba, queen of the invaded land. He disregards divine warnings, and in the end perishes with the flower of his people. Contrasted with the fate of Gebir is that of Tamar, his brother, whose life is devoted to peaceful aims. His love for the nymph and their happy union represent the claims of Nature upon Man and her call to a pastoral innocent existence, free from tyranny and strife. To those who, like Tamar, leaving ambition behind, make the right choice, the nymph promises the empire of the earth. Landor is clearly enough inspired in all this by the theories of Rousseau and the fore-runners of the French Revolution. He does not teach or moralise—the poem is as free from any such tendency as the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*—but the underlying principles are none the less clearly to be seen. So far then as the general plan is concerned, *Gebir* contains the elements of heroic song, and the poet's study of Milton may have inspired him to treat his subject in this exalted style. It is, however, only in certain incidents that the supposition becomes at all probable. The third book narrates the descent into hell of the hero, and as this does not find place in the romance of Clara Reeve, which was his source, we may take it as peculiarly characteristic of the influence under which he wrote. He could hardly have introduced this incident without having in mind

(1) *Gebirus, Poema*, 1803: Preface.

Virgil and Milton, and, when the language is studied, it becomes clear that he owed much of his inspiration to the latter (¹). The sixth book also contains a curious and striking departure from the original story, which may safely be attributed to Milton's influence. The nymph takes Tamar and shows him, in a supernatural way, all the lands around the Mediterranean. We are at once reminded how Satan showed to Christ the kingdoms of Earth, and how the angel displayed the world and its history to Adam. The passage referring to this in Landor's preface to the sixth book (*Gebirus, Poema*, 1803) says: 'Cumque jam in medio mari essent palpebras ei labris delibat, quo insulas undequaque ac terras omnes perspiciat' (cf. *Paradise Lost*, XI. 411). Such comparisons are perhaps too general, but the instances given indicate the frame of mind in which he wrote; they show that his imagination was coloured by Miltonic visions. The third book contains also a digression which can be described as an apotheosis of the universal element Fire (Crump, VIII., p. 53). There is some resemblance to Milton's verses on Light in *Paradise Lost* (III. 1-12) both in the thought and in the language (see *post*, p. 85). In the same place (Crump, VIII., p. 53) the passage on second marriage is strongly reminiscent of the speech of Hamlet's father returned from the grave (*Hamlet*, Act I., Sc. 5). It is significant that the opening lines of this third book are an invocation of Shakespeare and Milton (cf. *post*, p. 82), and it is also worthy of remark that the two passages last mentioned were omitted from the poem in its final form. Allusions to classical mythology are less frequent in *Gebir* than in its predecessor the *Phocæans*, and they are brought generally into closer relation to the text. They are certainly not borrowed from Milton, though in some cases they are similarly used. The comparison belongs rather to the section dealing with the language

(¹) Cf. Schlaak, p. 38.

of the poem, but one or two examples may be quoted here.

Go, but go early, ere the gladsome Hours
Strew saffron in the path of rising Morn.

(II. 211.)

With this may be compared,

. . . while on the summits Morn
Her saffron robe and golden sceptre lays.

(*Phocæans*, 498.)

Both passages are in the manner of Milton, but may with greater probability be attributed to classical models. In the *Iliad* (8, 1) Aurora is 'saffron robed,' while the epithet only occurs in Milton applied to Hymen (*L'Allegro*, 126).

The following example is certainly an imitation of Milton :

Now to Aurora borne by dappled steeds
The sacred gate of orient pearl and gold,
Smitten with Lucifer's light silver wand,
Expounded slow to strains of harmony.

(*Gebir*, VI. 1-4.)

(Cf. *L'Allegro*, 44, and *P. L.*, IV. 238, V. 1, and VII. 205 ; and see *post*, p. 88).

The war of Nature against the monster Void was probably suggested by the description of Chaos in *Paradise Lost* (cf. *Gebir*, VII. 22-28, with *P. L.*, II. 890-916).

The mythological colouring in the next extract will be seen to resemble strongly the shorter poems of Milton :

Thus we may sport at leisure when we go
Where, lov'd by Neptune and the Naiad, lov'd
By pensive Dryad pale, and Oread,
The sprightly Nymph whom constant Zephyr woos,
Rhine rolls his beryl-colour'd wave ; . . .

(*Gebir*, VI. 118-122.)

(Cf., e.g., *L'Allegro*, 19-36, and *Lycidas*, 68.)

When such passages are compared with those in the *Phocæans* (e.g., 13-21 and 335-355) a marked advance in

the skill with which they are fitted to the theme becomes evident, and the source to which Landor was indebted for this increased facility can hardly be doubted. A further example is offered by the mode in which Gebir meets his death. He is killed by the poisoned robe cast round his shoulders by Dalica. This recalls the similar incident related of Hercules (cf. Ovid, *Met.*, 9), which is mentioned in *Paradise Lost* (II. 543). Less important evidence tending in the same direction is given by a few scriptural allusions in *Gebir*. There are none in the *Phocæans*, where they would be quite out of place. They are equally out of place in *Gebir*. There are the following :

Six days they labour'd : on the seventh day
Returning, all their labours were destroyed.
(II. 35-36.)

How against Egypt thou would'st raise that hand
And bruise the seed first risen from our line.
(III. 192.)

(Cf. ' His seed shall bruise my head ' (*P. L.*, X. 499, and XII. 148).)

. . . that wondrous wave,
Which hearing rescued Israel, stood erect,
And led her armies thro' his crystal gates.
(V. 20-22.)

(Cf. *P. L.*, XII. 195-200.)

. . . the Sea
Swallows him with his host, but lets them pass
As on dry land between two chrystal walls.
Aw'd by the rod of Moses so to stand
Divided, till his rescu'd gain thir shoar :
Such wondrous power God to his saint will lend.

The following seems to recall the death of Samson :

Blind wretches they with desperate embrace
Hang on the pillar till the temple fall.
(IV. 84.)

The allusion to the deluge in VII. 248-251 may also be noted. Landor showed generally less partiality for

biblical illustrations than most English authors. Such as there are in *Gebir* seem to be reflections of Milton's light, rather than taken directly from the Bible. It is not unconnected with the discussion, though perhaps somewhat fanciful, to observe that the animals mentioned in the poem with a certain symbolic significance of evil are also to be found in *Paradise Lost* similarly used. They are the serpent, cormorant, and cerastes. In *Gebir*, I. 28-32 :

. . . and see a serpent pant,
 . . . while upon the middle fold
 He keeps his wary head and blinking eye
 Curling more close and crouching ere he strike.

Cf. *P. L.*, IX. 182.

The serpent : him fast sleeping soon he found
 In labyrinth of many a round self rowld,
 His head the midst, well stor'd with subtle wiles :

Again Landor has in V. 35-37,

The Cormorant in his solitary haunt
 . . . screams for prey.

and in Milton (IV. 194-196), Satan

on the
 Tree of life sat like a cormorant, devising death to them
 who liv'd.

In preparing the poison for the fatal robe, Dalica twisted off the horn of the grey cerastes (*Gebir*, V. 227), which is also mentioned, as the 'cerastes horn'd' in *Paradise Lost*, X. 525, among the serpents in hell (cf. Schlaak, pp. 43, 44).

The descriptions of Nature and of the various scenes of action form a large element of the poem. They are given always with admirable skill, and betray keen powers of observation and a vivid imagination. The same may be said of the *Phocæans*, where this element, however, is less frequently found.

In the language used there are certainly traces of Milton's influence, as will be shown later, but the love of Nature and the eye to see its beauties were natural gifts fostered by the poet's secluded life on the sea-shore and hills of Wales.

Before leaving the question of the source to which Landor may have owed the substance of his poem, there is a minor point on which a suggestion may be made. Landor associated the name Gebir with Gibraltar without any historical grounds for doing so. The hero is changed from a Metaphequian or Chaldean to an Iberian, and his army is made up of Gadites, Tartessians and Nebrissans from Bætic Spain. The change seems to have more reason when we remember that this country and its historic past had interested him since his student days at Oxford. It is also one of the reasons for thinking that the *Phocæans* was written before *Gebir*. The scene of the former is laid in Bæi or Tartessus, not far from Gibraltar and Gades, and the people whose actions are narrated were Phœnicians (perhaps Gadites), Tartessians and Nebrissans.

It will be seen later that *Chrysaor* has the same scene of action ⁽¹⁾.

STYLE.—Attention has been called by various critics to a resemblance between the styles of Milton and Landor.

Forster in his Biography of the latter (I. p. 95) says, 'and certainly in the modulation of the verse, the beauty of the flow and pause in the rhythm, there is what might have satisfied the ear of Milton himself.' These words, however, refer only to a single passage which he then quotes, namely *Gebir*, V. 1-13. The same lines are chosen both by Evans (p. 73) and Schlaak (p. 61), who agree in comparing them with *Paradise Lost*, II. 1-10. Without giving further examples, they maintain that Landor's model was undoubtedly Milton. While the former confines himself to general observations, describing the verse

⁽¹⁾ See *post*, p. 96.

of *Gebir* as massive, full-toned and harmonious, the latter qualifies his view in the following words : ' Wir erkennen also mehr eine gleiche pathetische Höhenlage in beiden Dichtungen als Uebereinstimmung in Satzbau, Wortwahl usw. Gewiss kann nicht geleugnet werden, dass Landor seinem verehrten Meister auch in rhythmischer Hinsicht gleichzukommen strebte.'

Colvin, as quoted above, p. 59, judges similarly, but holds that the resemblance to Milton is confined to certain lines and passages. It consists in a similar ' loftiness of thought and language together,' and in ' majesty of rhythm '—a view adopted by Schlaak and repeated by him in the passage just given.

There is, then, a general agreement on the subject, though it is not clear how far the opinions quoted refer to the thought, imagination, and choice of words displayed in *Gebir* and how far to the style of composition and versification. Moreover, they are opinions and assertions whose value depends on the authority of those who make them. It should be possible to give at least something more of the facts whereon a judgment can be based, and that will now be attempted.

Some few elements of style can be numerically expressed. Among these may be first mentioned the average length of the sentences or periods in a poem. The impressive character of *Paradise Lost* is in part due to the many long-sustained passages, each unfolding without a pause one group of connected ideas. In Book I. there are, on the average, eight lines between successive full stops ; in Book II. nine lines ; while periods of twenty, thirty, and more lines are easily found. We need no figures to prove that Landor does not attempt such lengthy flights. They may, however, be given for the sake of comparison among his own poems. The average length of a period in the *Phocæans* is five lines ; in *Protis's Narrative*, four ; in the various books of *Gebir*, as follows : I. 3.7 ; II. 4.6 ; III. 5.2 ; IV. 5 ; V. 4.2 ;

VI. 4.7 ; VII. 4.7 ; and in *Chrysaor*, five. It is evident that in this particular there is nothing to suggest an approach to the manner of Milton. Somewhat connected with it, and not without effect upon the smoothness of the verse, is the proportion of run-on lines. The percentage of verses in *Paradise Lost* which have a pause at the end is, in Book I. 32, and in Book II. 33 ; in Landor we find, on the other hand, in the *Phocæans* 53, in *Protis* 69, in *Gebir* 63, and in *Chrysaor* 61. These poems, therefore, resemble one another and differ considerably from the poetry of Milton.

Considering next the respective regularity of accentuation in the two poets, we may select one type of verse which seems to recur with frequency in Landor's early poems. Examples of this class are the following :

And crost Ambition lose her lofty aim (I. 69)

When heavy dews are laden with disease (I. 74)

But we, by Neptune ! for no pipe contend (I. 169)

This pays a shepherd to a conquering maid (I. 202)

Contempt of earth and aspect up to heaven (I. 227)

The house of bondage or the house of birth (VII. 36)

The strongest accent falls on the fourth syllable and on the last, the effect being heightened not infrequently by alliteration, as in three of the examples quoted. The fifth syllable is usually weak, and the pause falls between the fifth and sixth in a considerable proportion of such verses. Now no numerical test is needed to demonstrate that this characteristic is foreign to the style of Milton. It belongs rather to the heroic verse of the eighteenth century. Pope ⁽¹⁾ selects the line having the pause after the fifth syllable as that least likely to weary the ear, and its presence in Landor's poems must be attributed to his

(1) Abbott, *Concordance*, p. xi.

earlier devotion to that poet. Its frequency in *Gebir* may be inferred from the fact that in the first hundred lines of Book VII. there are nearly fifty which approximate more or less closely to the type described. Other qualities, which tend also in the direction of regularity, are the absence of hendecasyllabics, and the infrequency of metrical inversion and of sudden pauses and breaks in the rhythm.

In all these respects, *Gebir* resembles its forerunner the *Phocæans*, and differs from *Paradise Lost*. Nevertheless, though Landor's style, in the main characteristics, remained the same, there is clear evidence of greater ease and skill in the later poem. The verses are less abrupt and more harmonious; the narrative, though still condensed, is unfolded in a more connected and deliberate manner. This may certainly be the result of the poet's study of Milton, and the assumption is very much strengthened by the fact that a few passages and lines can be found where the style approaches to that of *Paradise Lost*. These occur mostly where the subject is not unlike that of Milton's epic; as, for instance, in the description of the under-world (III. 71-92), or in the verses on Fire (Crump, VIII., p. 53), in the vision of the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean (VI. 148-180), in the invocations at the beginning of Books I. and III., and in other shorter passages scattered through the poem. As might be expected, where the style, as in the places cited, shows a resemblance to that of Milton, the language also is influenced in the same direction, and it is not easy to decide whether the impression produced is due to the thought or to the actual language. Some examples will be given in the next section.

LANGUAGE.—Landor had already at the time of writing *Gebir* composed a considerable quantity of poetry, which displays a rich and varied vocabulary. It is hardly to be expected that the influence of Milton, still less of any other English poet, should have left upon that work

many clear traces in the form of borrowed words, epithets, and phrases. The effect would be seen, if at all, in the general style of language employed, and this, in the case of *Gebir*, is not markedly different from the *Phocæans*. There is in certain parts a more lofty tone and a corresponding tendency to select the less common words, to prefer those of Latin origin; to impart in fact, as Landor himself said, 'an air of antiquity.' It is clear that the study of Milton would help in this tendency, but the actual evidence in the poem itself, especially when compared with its predecessors, cannot be called striking. Those passages and phrases where the verbal resemblance becomes at all marked will now be cited. Some have been previously quoted, and only the more important of these will be repeated.

Book I. The opening lines from 'When old Silenus' to 'influence my lay' are in the style of *Lycidas*, both in form and language.

Ye woody hills of Cambria! and ye hills
That hide in heaven your summits and your fame

may be compared with

Yet once more, O ye Laurels, and once more
Ye myrtle brown . . .

There is something also of Miltonic splendour in the description of 'those mountain caverns, which retain his labours yet,' the 'vast halls and flowing wells' of Gibraltar:

. . . here incens
By meditating on primeval wrongs,
He blew his battle horn, at which uprose
Whole nations; here, ten thousand of most might
He called aloud; and soon Charoba saw
His dark helm hover o'er the land of Nile. (I. 1-10.)

'Of most might' suggests 'of matchless might' (*Samson Agon.* 178) and 'my substitutes . . . of matchless might' (*P. L.* X 404), and other instances in Milton. 'Orbed

shield' (verse 50) occurs in *Paradise Lost* (VI. 543), and 'wan suffusion' (97) is not unlike 'dim suffusion' (*P. L.*, III. 26).

There was a brightening paleness in his face
Such as Diana rising o'er the rocks
Shower'd on the lonely Latmian ;

(I. 57-59.)

These lines are said to have suggested a passage in the most Miltonic of Keats' poems, *Hyperion* ⁽¹⁾. Landor's descriptions generally recall Milton's manner, even when he employs words not found in the latter. The following :

Her mantle show'd the yellow samphire-pod,
Her girdle the dove-colour'd wave serene. (I. 145.)

and the famous shell passage (I. 159-163) may be compared with the *Mask*, especially with verses 230-243 of the latter :

Sweet Echo, sweetest Nymph that liv'st unseen
Within thy airy shell
And give resounding grace to all Heav'ns Harmonies.

It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this may have helped Landor to his much-quoted idea.

And the long moonbeam on the hard wet sand
Lay like a jasper column half up-rear'd. (217.)

Cf. 'Pavement that like a sea of jasper shon' (*P. L.*, III. 363) ; 'sea of jasper' (III. 519) ; 'sky of jasper' (XI. 209). In the first book are also 'refulgent as the stars' (17) (cf. *P. L.*, VI. 527), 'flaccid ears' (55), 'turbid vein' (156), and other words and expressions which, though not to be found in Milton's poetry, are in his verbal manner.

(1) *The Poems of John Keats*, E. de Selincourt : *Hyperion*, I. 35-37, and note, p. 596.

Book II. The verses (52-62) on the Prayers are only slightly reminiscent of those in *Paradise Lost* :

Swifter than light are they . . .
 . . . at the throne
 Of Mercy, when clouds shut it from mankind,
 They fall bare-bosom'd, and indignant Jove
 Drops at the soothing sweetness of their voice
 The thunder from his hand. Let us arise
 On these high places daily, beat our breast,
 Prostrate ourselves and deprecate his wrath (55-62).

(Cf. *P. L.*, X. 1060-1104, and XI. 1-8.)

. . . they forthwith to the place
 Repairing where he judg'd them, prostrate fall.
 Thus they in lowliest plight repentant stood
 Praying, for from the Mercie seat above
 . . . which the spirit of Prayer
 Inspir'd and wing'd for Heav'n with speedier flight
 Than loudest Oratorie :

In the descriptions of Nature we again find that partiality for effects produced by the names of precious stones and rare colours which Landor and Milton both display. Thus (II. 66-70),

And now the largest orbit of the Year
 Leaning o'er black Mocattam's rubied brow,
 Proceeded slow, majestic and serene,

And crimson light struck soft the phosphor wave.

'Orb,' but not 'orbit,' 'majestic,' 'serene,' are common in *Paradise Lost*; while 'rubied' is only used twice, 'rubied lip' (*Comus*, 619), and 'rubied nectar' (*P. L.*, V. 633); 'ruby,' also twice (*P. L.*, III. 597; *Samson*, 543).

Verse 133 :

. . . that roseate face
 Cool'd with its breath ambrosial, . . .

(Cf. 'roseate dew' (*P. L.*, V. 643) and *P. L.*, II. 244.)

. . . His altar breathes
 Ambrosial odours and Ambrosial flowers.

When Landor wrote about 'eyes' and 'sight' after reading Milton's verses on his blindness, it would be difficult to avoid using some similar expressions. Thus in verses 144-147 :

When from his crystal fount the visual orbs
He filled with piercing ether, and endued
With somewhat of omnipotence . . .

Cf. 'visual ray' (*P. L.*, III. 620), 'piercing ray' (III. 24); 'orbs' for eyes (III. 25), and in *Samson Agonistes* (591) and *Sonnet*, XXII. 4.

Verse 163 'and of day amerced thy shepherd.' The somewhat archaic word occurs also in verse 60 as 'un-amerst,' and may be either from Milton or Spenser. The latter, however, uses it followed by 'with,' e.g. 'amerced with penance due,' while Milton has 'for his fault amerct of heaven' (*P. L.*, I. 609). The description of Morn has been referred to above (p. 103). The verses immediately following (213-216) containing the words: 'pale herbage' are like many in Milton. Landor points out, in the *Conversation with Southey* (Crump, IV., p. 276), that Milton was fond of the adjective 'pale.' Hence, perhaps, its rather frequent occurrence in *Gebir*. In view of Landor's remark, the following comparison is not without interest.

IN MILTON:

- 'Shadows pale' (*Nativity*, 232).
- 'Moon's pale course' (*P. L.*, 786).
- 'Death's pale horse' (*P. L.*, X. 590).
- 'Shuddering horror pale' (*P. L.*, II. 616).
- 'Night's pale career' (*Il Pen.*, 121).
- 'pale primrose, jessamine' (*May Morn*, 4; *Lycidas*, 143).
- 'poplar pale' (*Nativity*, 185).
- 'pale Dominion' (*P. L.*, III. 732).

P.L.

IN LANDOR:

- 'Dryad pale' (VI. 120).
- 'Suns paler brow' (VI. 105).
- 'hunter pale' (VII. 39).
- 'shuddered pale' (VII. 117).
- 'pale silver grows paler' (IV. 118).
- 'pale herbage' (II. 216).
- 'poplar pale' (*Chrysaor*, 23).
- 'bright'ning paleness' (I. 57).

G

IN MILTON.

'Pale Fear' (*P. L.*, VI. 393).

'pale light' (of flame) (*P. L.*, I. 181-183).

'pale visage' (*Comus*, 333).

'di'd her cheeks with pale'
(*P. L.*, X. 1009).

IN LANDOR.

'burns into paleness' (VII. 128) ⁽¹⁾.

'pale-flamed thirst' (III. 153).

'pale visage' (III. 162).

'pale sorceress' (V. 65).

In verse 233 we read 'a flame spired from the fragrant smoke,' and in *P. L.*, I. 223, 'the flames . . . slope their pointing spires.' A nearer coincidence, probably quite accidental, is seen in verse 174 :

Weep no more, heavenly maiden weep no more

Cf. Weep no more, woful Shepherds, weep no more

(*Lycidas*, 165.)

In the first two books it cannot be said that there is more than a general resemblance to the language of Milton, and there are few, if any, words which can be with certainty traced to that source.

Book III. The opening verses (1-18) are an invocation of the spirit of Shakespeare. So we assume from the mention of Avon; and Landor confirms it in his note. But both in thought and language they apply at least as well to Milton :

O for the spirit of that *matchless man*
Whom Nature led throughout her whole domain,
While he embodied breath'd ethereal air !
Tho' panting in the play-hour of my youth
I drank of Avon too, a dangerous draught,
That rous'd within *the feverish thirst of song*,
Yet never may I trespass o'er the stream
Of jealous Acheron, nor alive descend
The silent and unsearchable abodes
Of Erebus and Night, nor unchastised
Lead up long-absent heroes into day.

⁽¹⁾ 'Paleness' in the first edition; afterwards changed to 'whiteness.'

The following extracts from *Paradise Lost* bear a certain resemblance to those of Landor :

Up led by thee
 Into the Heav'n of Heav'ns I have presum'd,
An Earthlie Guest and drawn Emphyreal Aire.

(III. 12-14.)

I sung of Chaos and Eternal Night
 Taught by the heav'nly Muse to venture down
 The dark descent and up to reascend,
 Though hard and rare : thee I revisit safe,

Smit with the love of sacred song ;

(III. 18-29.)

' Matchless ' occurs frequently in Milton's works ; ' matchless king ' (*P. L.*, IV. 41), ' matchless Sire ' (*Paradise Regained*, I. 233), ' matchless Gideon ' (*Samson Ag.*, 280) and other instances. ' Glittering spires ' (16) is in *Paradise Regained* (IV. 54) ; ' Aroar ' (25) in *P. L.* I. 407 ; also ' Arnon ' (27) in *P. L.*, I. 399 ⁽¹⁾ ; while ' the vast profound ' (34) may be compared with ' vast profundity ' (*P. L.*, VII. 229), ' vast Abyss ' (*P. L.*, I. 21), ' vast and boundless Deep ' (*P. L.*, I. 177), ' void profound ' (II. 438), and many similar expressions.

Such verbal coincidences may be described perhaps as echoes of Milton. They are particularly frequent in the third book, which narrates the descent of Gebir to the shades of his ancestors. In the verses 35-70 the hero is shown the tortures of ambition (cf. *P. R.*, III. 71-90) ; and the following verses 71-92 approach very near to Milton in choice of words, as a few selections will show :

Verses 71-75 :

. . . a river rolling in its bed,
 . . .
 But with dull weary lapses it upheaved
 Billows of bale, heard low, yet heard afar ;

Cf. *P. L.*, I. 222-224 : ' the flame rowld in billows,'
 and *P. L.*, VIII. 263 : ' liquid lapse of murmuring

(1) Cf. Schlaak, p. 40.

Fire rules the realms of pleasure and of pain,
 Parent and element of elements,
 Changing, and yet unchanged, pervading heaven
 Purest, and then reviewing all the stars :
 All crowd round him in their orbits, all
 In legions for that radiant robe contend
 Allotted them, unseam'd and undefil'd,
 Then, saturate with what their nature craves,
 Unite the grateful symphony of guests,
 Take short repose, and with slow pace return ;
 And not the glowing oceans of the sun
 Fire fills alone, and draws there smaller streams,
 And dashes them on crystal cliffs of hail,
 And filters through black clouds and fleecy snows,
 But penetrates each blue and cold abyss
 Of trackless waves, and each white glimmering gem
 That crowns the victim's immolated brow.

(Crump, Vol. VIII., p. 53.)

To this may be compared *P. L.*, III. 6-12 :

Bright effluence of bright essence increate
 . . . before the Sun
 Before the Heavens thou wert, and at the voice
 Of God, as with a mantle didst invest
 The rising world of waters dark and deep
 Won from the void and formless infinite.

and the passage given above (*P. L.*, VII. 360-366) ; also
P. L., II., 580-603, and III., 571-587 :

The golden Sun in splendour likest Heav'n
 . . .
 By his magnetic beam, that gently warms
 The universe, and to each inward part
 With gentle penetration, though unseen,
 Shoots invisible virtue even to the Deep :

It has been suggested above that certain lines in this
 book are based upon Shakespeare in *Hamlet*. A few
 extracts will serve to support the statement :

Neither can mortal see departed friends,
 Or they see mortal ; if indeed they could
 How care would furrow up their flowery fields,
 What asps and adders bask in every beam !

She who evading modesty dares take—
 With sacrilegious incest most accurst—
 The lamp of marriage from a husband's tomb,
 And beckon up another, to defile
 A bed new littered, a mere tavern stall,
 Biting her chain, bays body ; and despair
 Awakes the furies of insatiate lust.

(Crump, VIII., pp. 53, 54.)

(Cf. *Hamlet*, I. 5).

'The lamp of marriage' appears in Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV. 764, 'Love . . . here lights his constant lamp,' and VIII. 520, 'the evening star . . . to light the bridal lamp.' 'Biting her chain' is curiously enough a debt to Pope, who uses the phrase in *Windsor Forest* (421) :

There Faction roar, Rebellion bite her chain,
 And gasping Furies thirst for blood in vain

Book IV. The subject-matter of this book, unlike that of the last, is not such as to require the exalted language and style of Milton. One passage only will bear comparison with anything he has written. It describes the rebuilding of the ruined city :

Seek they not hidden treasure in the tombs ?
 Build they not fairer cities than our own,
 Extravagant enormous apertures
 For light, and portals larger, open courts
 Temples quite plain with equal architraves
 They build, not bearing gods like ours imboſt.

(IV. 93-102.)

In *Paradise Lost*, I. 634-726, there is also a description of building on an heroic scale, from which three verbal similarities with the above may be quoted. They are 'Mother Earth for treasures better hid,' 'Temple . . . with golden Architrave,' and 'bossy Sculptures graven' (1). Occasionally Landor fills a verse with

(1) Cf. *ante*, p. 51.

substantives or adjectives in a way which recalls frequent examples in *Paradise Lost* ⁽¹⁾. Thus :

IV. 22 :

Rocks, precipices, waves, storms, thunderbolts,

Cf. *P. L.*, II. 621 :

Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens and shades of death

IV. 59 :

Handmaidens, pages, courtiers, priests, buffoons.

Cf. *Samson*, 1324 :

Of gimnic artists, wrestlers, riders, runners

Jugglers and dancers, antics, mummers, mimics.

IV. 226 :

Majestic, unpresuming, unappall'd

P. L., II. 185 :

Unrespited, unpitied, unrepreevd

In verse 186 the word 'ken' is used for gaze or sight. Except in the phrase 'within ken,' it is practically obsolete. Landor may have adopted it from Milton, who has it twice, but only in the more usual application ; thus 'within ken' (*P. L.*, III. 622) and 'in clearest ken' (*P. L.*, XI., 379).

Book V. Verses 16-22 :

With Time's first sickle they had markt the hour
 When at their incantation would the Moon
 Start back, and shuddering shed blue blasted light.
 The rifted rays they gather'd, and immerst
 In potent portion of that wondrous wave
 Which, hearing rescued Israel, stood erect.
 And led her armies thro' his crystal gates.

The biblical reference has been mentioned above (p. 72).

In *Paradise Lost*, X. 412 :

. . . the blasted Stars lookt wan
 And planets, planet struck, real Eclipse
 Then suffered.

'Blasted,' in this sense, is obsolete.

(1) Cf. *ante*, p. 52.

Book VI. The four lines describing Aurora have been quoted in connection with Landor's use of mythology. The imitation in that respect extends also to the language. 'Aurora borne by dappled steeds,' the 'gate of orient pearl and gold' are Miltonic word-pictures, as may be seen by the following examples :

Now Morn her rosie steps in th' Eastern Clime
Advancing, sow'd the Earth with Orient Pearle.
(*P. L.*, V. 1.)

Rowling on Orient Pearl and sands of Gold.
(*P. L.*, IV. 238.)
the dappled Dawn.
(*L'Allegro*, 44.)

. . . Heav'n op'nd wide
Her ever during Gates, Harmonious sound
On golden Hinges moving,
(*P. L.*, VII. 205-207.)

Landor's description seems to owe its inspiration to the above and other passages in Milton rather than directly to the classics. At least as regards the words used the source seems clear. In the verses 104, 105,

What makes when Winter comes, the sun to rest
So soon on Ocean's bed his paler brow,

he has improved upon his teacher's youthful verse :

So when the Sun in bed
Curtain'd with cloudy red,
Pillows his chin upon an Orient wave.
(*Nativity Hymn*, XXVI.) (1).

Verses 118-122.—These have already been discussed on p. 71 above. The expression 'beryl-colour'd wave' is another instance of the descriptive epithet derived from gems. Milton has beryl twice, namely 'wheels of beryl' (*P. L.*, VI. 756) and 'May thy billow roll ashore the beryl' (*Comus*, 932).

132. And breath'd ambrosial odours, o'er his cheek
Celestial warmth suffusing.

(1) Cf. *Conversation of Southey and Landor*, Crump. IV., p. 287

In choice of words this resembles Milton, *e.g.*,

. . . ambrosial fragrance fill'd
All Heav'n, and in the blessed Spirits elect
Sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd ;

(*P. L.*, III. 135-137.)

The lines beginning ' Captivity led captive,'⁽¹⁾ which have been mentioned above (see pp. 38, 61), occur in this sixth book. They afford almost the only example of actual borrowing, and even here there is considerable doubt since the phrase ' lead captivity captive ' is to be found in the Epistle to the Ephesians (IV. 8).

Book VII. The word ' void ' in verse 24 is curiously used, apparently to personify empty space. Milton speaks of the ' Void profound of unessential Night ' (*P. L.*, II. 438) and ' the void immense ' (*P. L.*, II. 829). Landor's lines rather suggest the idea of Chaos as personified in *Paradise Lost*.

23-28. Nature calls forth her filial elements
To close around and crush that monster *Void* :
Fire, springing fierce from his resplendent throne,
And Water, dashing the devoted wretch
Woundless and whole with iron-coloured mace,
Or whirling headlong in his war-belt's fold.

Cf. *P. L.*, II. 174-183. The phrase ' with iron-colour'd mace ' seems to have grown from the description of the stream in the *Phocæans* (572), ' as upon its bosom fell the frigid, iron-colour'd, unripe light ' :

158. Myrrh, nard, and cassia from three golden urns.

Perhaps these three must be expected together, when any of them is used. In Milton, *P. L.*, V. 292, they all occur :

. . . through groves of Myrrhe,
And flowering odours, Cassia, Nard and Balm.

but in *Comus*, 991, only two of them :

Nard and Cassia's balmy smells.

(1) Crump, Vol VIII., p. 58.

As an example of the skill with which Landor renders his narrative more vivid by the use of a simile based on mythology, the following passage from this book may be taken :

224-229. Thus raved Charoba ; horror, grief, amaze,
Pervaded all the host ; all eyes were fixt ;
All stricken motionless and mute : the feast
Was like the feast of Cepheus, when the sword
Of Phineus, white with wonder, shook restrain'd
And the hilt rattled in his marble hand ⁽¹⁾.

It is, like most of the imagery in the poem, as striking in its originality as in its aptitude, and alone would almost suffice to prove poetic genius. Place might easily be found for such a conception, so worded, in Milton's poetry without diminishing the dignity of the context in thought or style. Milton has, in fact, come near to anticipating the essence of the idea. In his sonnet on Shakespeare there are the well-known lines :

Then thou our fancy of itself bereaving
Dost make us marble with too much conceaving ;

and in *Il Penseroso* (42),

There held in holy passion still
Forget thyself to Marble,

Not altogether without significance is the presence of the same thought in Keats' *Hyperion*, I. 1-4 :

Deep in the shady sadness of a vale
Sat gray-hair'd Saturn quiet as a stone.

One more example, chosen from several, will serve to display the Miltonic character of Landor's imagery :

Now murmurs like the sea or like the storm
Or like the flames on forests, move and mount
From rank to rank, and loud and louder roll
Till all the people is one vast applause.

(VII. 105-108.)

(1) Cf. Forster, I. p. 101, note. Landor, in a note to the passage in the 2nd edition, refers to the story told by Ovid.

The style is the style of Landor, but the conception and language are not unworthy of Milton, nor very unlike those of the following passage :

He said, and as the sound of waters deep
Hoarse murmur echoed to his words applause
Through the infinite Host,
(*P. L.*, V. 869-871.)

The evidence has now been given, by means of which the influence of the poetry of Milton on Landor's *Gebir* may be estimated. Before attempting to state the conclusion apparently justified by that evidence some general observations must here be made.

By far the greater part of the poem has not come into consideration in the course of the enquiry. The narrative of the course of events and the words spoken by Gebir and Charoba, Tamar, the nymph, and Dalica, have provided little or no material. The extracts given are chiefly natural descriptions, allusions to mythology, and digressions from the main theme to embody abstract ideas and large visions. Something must be said of the work as a whole, and first of the mode of narration. In that respect *Gebir* resembles the *Phocæans*, and both differ remarkably from Milton—still more from any other English poet. One example may be given :

Congratulations here, there prophecies,
Here children, not repining at neglect
While tumult sweeps them ample room for play ;
Everywhere questions answer'd ere begun,
Everywhere crowds, for everywhere alarm.
Thus winter gone, nor spring (tho' near) arriv'd,—
(*Gebir*, IV. 60-75.)

and then follows a description of the approach of spring. With this may be compared the verses 183-200 in the *Phocæans*, where the same rapid and condensed style is to be seen, and the same sudden change of theme. The

following verses from the latter poem also display this quality of abruptness :

542-549. The Tyrians now, disconsolate, unite
 In counsel : each one differs in the way
 To follow, each his neighbour's choice amends.
 When on the pathway haply one espied
 A torch ; he whirl'd, he kindled it ; he sware
 By earth and heaven 'twas happy ; he exclaim'd
 ' We too will sacrifice ! Revenge be ours !
 Revenge is worthy to succeed to Love.'

This is the kind of narrative which makes up much of *Gebir*. In the following extract it reaches the extreme of compression :

And yet no reason against right he urged,
 He threaten'd not, proclaim'd not ; I approacht,
 He hasten'd on ; I spake, he listen'd ; wept,
 He pity'd me ; he lov'd me, he obey'd ;
 He was a conqueror, still am I a queen.

(*Gebir*, IV. 143-147.)

That the same criticism applies to *Protis's Narrative* may be seen by reference to almost any part of the poem ; the lines 50-58 (quoted on p. 52) display the character at its best—or worst. There is no reason for doubting Landor's own testimony as to the source of this peculiarity. It is foreign to Milton and to English poetry in general, and must be attributed to the influence of Pindar. Of him Landor wrote later : ' When I began to write *Gebir* I had just read Pindar a second time and understood him. What I admired was what nobody else had even noticed—his proud complacency and scornful strength. If I could resemble him in nothing else, I was resolved to be as compendious and exclusive ' (1). His works were among those he studied most earnestly at the beginning of the years in Wales, and we may perhaps assume that the *Phocæans* was written chiefly at that time and was the first experiment in imitation of the style he so much

(1) Cf. Colvin, p. 21 ; Schlaak, p. 19.

admired. *Gebir* was written under the same influence at a later date, when the study of Milton had modified his taste.

Another element which contributes much to the general character of both these poems has been already indicated (see pp. 30, 76). It is the tendency to reproduce the regular rhythm of the heroic couplet. In this connection it is well to observe that Landor rather favoured the strict observance of metrical laws⁽¹⁾. He disapproves, for instance, of the presence of hendecasyllabics in *Paradise Lost*, and his own blank verse is entirely free from them. Other irregularities are also rare. Lines frequently occur which recall those of his earlier poems composed on the model of the heroic couplet of Pope. One or two examples in addition to those quoted above must suffice. In *Gebir*, V. 159, we read :

That figure Fancy fondly chose to raise, ⁽²⁾
He claspt the vacant air and stood and gazed ;

and in the *Apology for Satire* :

Along the glade where pensive Collins drew
Each fairest figure fancy holds to view.

Again, *Gebir*, IV. 172 :

Sweet airs of music ruled the rowing palms,
Now rose they glistening and aslant reclined,

It is only the metrical form, however, that displays this return to his more youthful manner. The language is entirely free from the artificiality and prettiness of the earlier works. There flowers are generally 'floreys,' or 'balsam-breathing florets,' 'pallid' is preferred to 'pale,' houses in winter become 'crystal cottages,' and many other similar examples could be given. Such errors of taste are not to be found in *Gebir*, nor in the *Phocæans*. The advance cannot be entirely due to the study of

⁽¹⁾ Cf Letter to Southey in Forster, I. p. 216 ; *Gebir*, 2nd ed. p. 17 ; *Postscript to Gebir*, South Kensington copy, p. 105.

⁽²⁾ The two lines were, however, separated in the 1st edition.

Milton. The influence of the later eighteenth century poets, and especially of Collins and Gray, came first ; but probably the effect of a devoted study of the classics and of many efforts to make just translations was the greatest factor in his development up to the writing of the *Phocæans*.

Bearing in mind these observations, we may now state the following conclusions : The general style of *Gebir* is that of the *Phocæans* somewhat modified by the study of Milton. The influence of the latter was chiefly in the direction of restraining the excessive tendency to condensation and adding to the smoothness of the verse. Occasional ideas were also due to his influence, and where this is the case, both the poetic form and the language derive their character largely from his works. On the whole no other English poet contributed so much to what is admirable in *Gebir*—to its high level of thought and feeling, the grandeur of the style in a few passages, and the skill with which the mythological, scriptural, and classical allusions are adapted to the theme.

CHAPTER V.

CHRYSAOR.

THE last poem of importance belonging to Landor's earlier poetic period was published with the two fragments of the *Phocæans* in 1802, under the title *Chrysaor*. It is unfortunately too short to do more than indicate what might have been the outcome of his genius, had that continued to manifest itself along the same lines of thought and in the same forms. The advertisement to the *Story of Crysaor*⁽¹⁾ describes the poem as a sketch, and there is evidence in the work itself that the original plan contemplated something larger, of which the part published was only the introduction giving an outline of the whole. Colvin judges it to be 'Landor's finest piece of narrative writing in blank verse, less monotonous in its movement than *Gebir*, more lofty and impassioned than any of the later "Hellenics" with which it was afterwards incorporated.'

Few seem to have either appreciated or even understood it, as may be inferred from the fact that, in the edition of Landor's collected works published in 1876, *Chrysaor* was printed as part of another poem, *Regeneration*, which was written twenty years later and has not the remotest connection with it. Its importance in this study lies in the strong evidence it affords of the influence of Milton, which seems to have determined to a great extent both its form and substance.

The name of the central figure and the scene of action are taken from the mythical accounts of ancient Iberia. The preface states: 'Hardly anything remains that made

(1) The name was so spelt in the first edition.

ancient Iberia classic land. We have little more than the titles of fables—than portals, as it were, covered over with gold and gorgeous figures, that show us what once must have been the magnificence of the whole interior edifice.' From this we must suppose that the name 'Chrysaor' was suggested by that of the father of Geryon. Landor had already in his school days read Hesiod, if we may judge from the references to that writer in his early poems (cf. *ante*, p. 10). He would, therefore, be acquainted with the story of the slaying of the Medusa by Perseus, as narrated in the *Theogony* (278 ff); and how from her blood started forth the great Chrysaor and the winged horse Pegasus. They were the offspring of the gorgon by Poseidon. Mounting the winged steed, Chrysaor bore the lightning, symbolised as the golden sword, to the palace of Jove. It is further related of the hero that from his union with Callirhoe arose Geryon and the Echidna (*Theog.*, 979 ff). There is clearly nothing in this to suggest Landor's poem, beyond the name and the association with Iberia through the Geryon fable. Colvin has suggested Diodorus as the source of the name and of the association of Chrysaor with the giants. That historian, however, has only given a more modern version of the fable, narrating that Hercules killed the three sons of a wealthy king of Spain whose name was Chrysaor (¹). The three sons are evidently the triple-headed Geryon rationalised; as also in Justin (XLIV. 4), who does not mention Chrysaor, but relates that the wealth of Geryon drew Hercules from Asia. There was not, as the fable relates, a monster of triple nature, but there had been apparently three brothers, who lived in such concord, 'ut uno animo omnes regi viderentur.' Justin also writes 'Saltus vero Tartessorum, in quibus Titanas bellum adversus Deos gessisse proditur, incolere Cunetes'; which may account for the association of the episode in Landor's poem with Gades. The name Chrysaor occurs not

(¹) *Diodori Bibliotheca Historica*, IX., 17, 18.

infrequently as a descriptive title of various gods and heroes, among others of Phœbus Apollo in Homer (*Il.*, V. 509) and in Pindar (*Pyth.*, V. 104) ⁽¹⁾. There is nowhere any association of the name with the rebellion of a Titan or giant against the gods. The nearest approach to the incident described by Landor is in the story of the defiance of Ajax and his destruction by Neptune, as told by Homer (*Od.*, IV. 500 ff) ⁽²⁾. It is very probable that this may have suggested the chief incident of the poem, but there are indications that Milton's account of the rebellion of Satan and the Fall of Man contributed most to its spirit and form. Like its two predecessors, the *Phocæans* and *Gebir*, *Chrysaor* is an attack upon kingship, which is here represented as associated with the slave trade. In a note on the lines,

Man for one moment hath engaged his lord,
Henceforth let merchants value him, not kings.

(41.)

there is a discussion on some forms of slavery. The inner meaning and application of the poem can hardly be understood without its help. There is, for instance, a comparison between 'the petty princes of Hesse and Hanover,' and 'their brethren the petty princes of Negroland' in favour of the latter, since they sold their subjects into a gentler and less degrading servitude. The poem, according to the same note, describes a period when tyranny was at its worst, which could only be when men were the slaves and merchandise of their rulers. At such a time their duty is to remove the common enemy—a plea for tyrannicide—since by submission they incur the enmity of the gods.

The contents of the poem, which contains only 209 lines, may be briefly summarised thus: After the overthrow of the Titans, one of them, Chrysaor, survives, and rules over Spain. He hurls defiance at Jupiter, and, refusing

⁽¹⁾ See also Herodotus, VIII. 77.

⁽²⁾ Crump, VIII. p. 370.

to adore, declares that henceforth the sacrifices of men shall be for the Titans, not for the gods. He demands that the curse upon him be removed, or he will wage war on his oppressor. Jupiter is roused to indignation against mankind for submitting to the tyranny of the Giant, and calls upon Neptune to destroy him. At one blow Gades is severed from the main, and the rebellious Titan perishes. But the nations of fair Hesperia, who had for thrice twelve years endured his yoke, must suffer the penalty. One of the fallen giants has given birth to a daughter, who, as Superstition, is permitted for ages to oppress them.

Brief as it is, the theme is presented in such a way as to form a parallel to that of *Paradise Lost*. The powers and persons in Landor's sketch play much the same part as the chief of those in Milton's epic. This is seen from the following comparison :

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| God the Father. | Jupiter. |
| God the Son. | Neptune. |
| Angels. | Tritons and Nymphs. |
| Adam and Eve. | Mankind. |
| Satan. | Chrysaor. |
| Fallen Angels. | Fallen Titans. |
| Sin (born of Satan). | Superstition (born of a Titan). |

The resemblance in subject extends also to the language, which has again, as in *Gebir*, taken on something of the splendour of Milton in *Paradise Lost*. A few extracts will now be made and compared with parts of that poem, to bring out the relationship which seems to exist between them. It is not of course suggested that Landor has borrowed from, or consciously imitated, *Paradise Lost*; he was, however, so much under the influence of Milton that his thoughts and style naturally drew their inspiration from that source.

The invocations present a general similarity, that in

Chrysaor leading the reader to expect more than is actually to be found in the poem.

Come, I beseech ye, Muses! who, retired
Deep in the shady glens by Helicon,
Yet know the realms of Ocean, . . .

Who from your sacred mountain see afar
O'er earth and heaven, and hear and memorise
The crimes of men and counsels of the Gods;
Sing of those crimes and of those counsels, sing
Of Gades severed from the fruitful main,
And what befell, and from what mighty hand,
Chrysaor, wielder of the golden sword. (I-12.)

Of man's first disobedience . . .

Sing Heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top
Of Oreb or of Sinai didst inspire
That Shepherd . . .
And justify the ways of God to men.
Say first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view

Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt.

(P. L., I. 1-33.)

In *Chrysaor*, (95) the fall of the Titans is called their 'foul disgrace.' Verses 13-18 refer to the rebellion of the Titans and to their defeat in three stages, which correspond to the three-days' battle waged by Satan and his followers in heaven. Verse 200 (*Chrysaor*):

. . . he omnipotence defied
But thunderstruck fell headlong from the clouds;

This is a near approach to Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I. 44-49:

. . . Him the Almighty power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from the Ethereal Skie
Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to Arms.

The defiance of Chrysaor is not in so lofty a tone as

' While they adore me on the throne of Hell '
(IV. 89.)

' Divided Empire with Heav'n's king I hold
By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign ;
As Man ere long and this new World shall know.'
(IV. 111-113.)

Thus Chrysaor, who has gained supreme power over despised mankind, claims, like Satan, to be adored and invoked with all the attributes of divinity. The priest Atrobal proclaims that the fumes of sacrifice shall be for the Titans not for the Gods.

This is clearly Landor's presentment of the teaching that kingship, usually supported by priestcraft, is an usurpation of the rights of God. Milton has said the same ; for example (*Paradise Lost*, XII. 69), ' but Man over men he made not Lord ; such title to himself reserving.'

Verses 48-61 are somewhat difficult to understand. Chrysaor laments that his shadow has almost disappeared and that he himself has yielded to the piercing beams of the Sun. The meaning apparently is that the shadow of his tyranny becomes less as the Sun of Reason rises higher.

' Time is changed, Nature changes, I am changed !
Fronting the furious lustre of the Sun
I yielded to his piercing swift-shot beams
Only when quite meridian, then abased
These orbits to the ground, and there survey'd
My shadow : strange and horrid to relate !
My very shadow almost disappear'd !
Restore it or by Earth and hell I swear
With blood enough will I refascinate
The cursed incantation : thou restore
And largely ; or my brethren, all combined,
Shall rouse thee from thy lethargies, and drive
Far from thy cloud-soft pillow, minion-prest,
Those leering lassitudes that follow Love.'
The smile of disappointment and disdain
Sat sallow on his pausing lip half-closed ;

So also Satan, fallen and changed, threatens war upon the Almighty (*P. L.*, I. 84-126).

'We may with more successful hope resolve
To wage by force or guile eternal Warr
Irreconcilable, to our grand Foe,
Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy
Sole reigning holds the Tyranny of Heav'n,'
So spoke th' apostate Angel, though in pain,
Vaunting aloud, but rackt with deep despare.

'Cloud-soft pillow' resembles 'snow-soft chair' in Milton's lines *On the Death of an Infant* (19), but there are few verbal similarities of the kind.

Verses 72-126. Jupiter calls upon Neptune to overthrow the survivor of that race of earth-born giants. Neptune responds consenting, and at his voice the Tritons meet and warm with melody the azure concave of their curling shells.

So also the Father Almighty in *Paradise Lost* calls upon his Son to overthrow Satan, and Angels sing hymns of praise.

Verses 127-135. The description of Neptune's attack is quite in the style of Milton's poetry :

Swift as an arrow, as the wind, as light,
He glided through the deep, and now arrived,
Leapt from his pearly beryl-studded car.
Earth trembled : the retreating tide, black-brow'd
Gather'd new strength, and rushing on, assail'd
The promontory's base : but when the God
Himself, resistless Neptune, struck one blow,
Rent were the rocks asunder and the sky
Was darken'd with their fragments ere they fell.

The battle in heaven and the victory of the Messiah may be compared with the above, *e.g.*, *P. L.*, VI. 749-756 :

. . . forth rushed with whirlwind sound
The Chariot of Paternal Deitie . . .
. . . the Wheels
Of Beryl, and careering Fires between
The steadfast Empyrean shook throughout (833)

and VI. 653-664 :

. . . . and on their heads
Main Promontories flung which in the air
Came shadowing
So Hills amid the air encountered Hills.

The death of Chrysaor is then described in verses 150-184, and the concluding lines 185-209 tell the fate of Hesperia and of all nations who bend to any other king than the gods. They are destined, like Spain, to crouch for centuries at the feet of Superstition. She was born of Sicanus, who defied Omnipotence and fell from heaven; assuming the helm of Religion, she is allowed to afflict mankind. This concluding idea is very suggestive of Milton's in *Paradise Lost* where Satan gives birth to a daughter, Sin, who is permitted to wander over the earth bringing misery to the human race.

Landor's *Chrysaor* may be fairly described as a poetic treatment, in terms of Greek mythology, of a theme parallel to that of Milton's epic. The crime of man which brings about his fall is that of submitting to kings who usurp the authority of the gods. His punishment consists in the age-long reign of Superstition.

CHAPTER VI.

THE POEMS FROM THE ARABIC AND PERSIAN.

BEFORE concluding this study of the early poetical works of Landor a brief consideration must be given to a volume published in 1800 entitled *Poems from the Arabic and Persian*. If these were not really translations, they seem to have some significance in the history of the poet's development. They would indicate a less serious attitude towards the art of making poetry than was Landor's when he wrote *Gebir*, and would partly explain why he attempted nothing more of importance after this time.

The preface is of some interest ; it is as follows :

' I am uncertain, and I am heedless, whether the public at large will receive with favour a performance ill calculated to irritate or surprise. At a time when the total slavery, or the total emancipation, of mankind, ⁽¹⁾ are the objects of cold indifference, or of mere conversational curiosity, it is barely possible that supineness will be awakened by the feeble echo of a foreign song. Some poems have reached the continent, I believe in number not exceeding nine, represented as translations from the Arabic and Persian. Ignorant of both these languages I shall not assert their authenticity. The few that I ever have met with are chiefly the odes of Hafez. In these, and in all the others I observed that the final stanza contained invariably the poet's name. If this be peculiar to the Persian, as I think I remember it is said to be, then these must not be genuine or not be odes. In my

(1) He had perhaps already written *Chrysaor*, which has this for theme.

opinion it is quite sufficient, if, without the fatigue of travelling over a dry uninteresting waste of perhaps some hundred pages, the public be presented, whether from Egypt or from France, with a new and rich collection of undistorted images. And as these translations have afforded some pleasure to those who have read them, though perhaps no language is less capable than the French of transmitting with adequate spirit the charms of original poetry, I shall hesitate no longer to send them on, accompanied with my own observations.'

It would appear, therefore, that the nine poems in the volume were versions or translations from certain French prose ⁽¹⁾ translations of Arabic and Persian originals. The author himself doubts the authenticity of the material he used, and, since he nowhere gives any clue to the name of the French translator or other source, the reader is naturally inclined at first sight to regard the whole as an invention. The statement that 'some poems have reached the continent, I believe in number not exceeding nine,' is hardly of a kind to inspire confidence. It may be said at once that no one has ever succeeded in finding either the originals or their French versions, and the most probable conclusion is that they never existed. The poems were original compositions by Landor, who removed all doubt on the subject when they were republished nearly sixty years later in '*Dry Sticks, fagoted by Walter Savage Landor, 1858.*' In a note which precedes the poems from the Persian, he writes, 'The following were presented as *Poems from the Arabic and Persian*. A hundred copies were printed for friends. One of these caused them to be written, by remarking to the author, who perhaps undervalued the Orientals, that "he should be glad to see how anyone would succeed in an attempt to imitate them."' This seems to be conclusive, and agrees with the statement of Mrs. Browning, who records Landor's assurance that he wrote these poems for the

(1) As stated in note (B) attached to the first piece.

mystification of scholars ⁽¹⁾. Nevertheless, several writers seem still to doubt the author's later explanation of their origin, without suggesting a reason why he should any longer have withheld the truth. Thus Wheeler says, 'whether written in imitation of Asiatic verse or translated from a translation is uncertain,' and 'the internal evidence can hardly be regarded as convincing either way' (pp. 131, 132). It seems, therefore, worth while to mention some points which throw further light on the question. In the *Postscript to Gebir*, which was written shortly after the Persian poems, they are referred to in a way which seems to prove their character. A note on p. 83 of the volume ⁽²⁾ containing the postscript states, 'Those who in *Poems from the Arabic and Persian* have found me so faithful a translator, will be pleased, I hope, with a version of an ancient Greek Dithyrambic!' Then follows in prose a so-called 'Ode on Power.'

The obviously satirical tone of the note shows that it was merely another attempt to catch the unwary. It is quite in accordance with his remark to Mrs. Browning that the Persian Poems were written for the mystification of scholars. The Dithyrambic is an invention of Landor's, and so also must have been the Oriental imitations. Their source is given by an autograph note added to the author's own copy, in which he says, 'I wrote these poems after reading what had been translated from the Arabic and Persian by Sir W. Jones and Dr. Nott.' The latter of these especially seems to have inspired Landor, for though the nine poems themselves avoid any obvious borrowing or imitation, yet the copious annotations deal partly with just those questions which Nott had discussed in his book. This was published by subscription in 1787 under the title '*Select Odes from the Persian Poet Hafez, translated into English verse; with Notes critical and*

(1) Wheeler, pp. 130, 131.

(2) Forster Bequest, South Kensington Museum.

explanatory, by John Nott. London; Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand.' Among the original subscribers, of whom a list is given, was the father of Walter Savage Landor. The name on the list is 'Landor M.D. Warwick,' and a reference to *Baily's British Directory*, 1784, and the *British Directory*, 1793, shows that there was no other person of that name among the residents of Warwick.

It is at least possible that the author was familiar with these translations some years previously, and may have derived something of the Eastern colouring and the occasionally sensuous character of the descriptions in *Gebir* from that source.

The preface to the *Select Odes* contains the following assertion :

'And we lament whilst years are bestowed in acquiring an insight into the Greek and Roman authors, that those very writers should have been neglected, from whom the Greeks evidently derived both the richness of their mythology, and the peculiar tenderness of their expressions.'

After explaining the term 'Gazel,' Dr. Nott continues that he will not venture to determine whether Anacreon borrowed the gaiety of his Odes from the Persian Gazel, or whether Hafez enriched his native language by an imitation of the Teian bard. The comparison between the two is made several times, Hafez being described as the Anacreon of Persia. He is also likened to Petrarch, whose canzoni are, Nott maintains, an exact imitation of the Persian Gazel. These are views which Landor combats in his notes, saying, for example, 'It must surely result from the weakest or from the most perverted understanding, that the Gazel has been preferred to the pure and almost perfect, though utterly dissimilar, pieces of Anacreon and Tibullus.' And further, 'I should be ashamed to be numbered with those enthusiasts, who diminish the merit of the western poetry by deriving so much of it from the East. Voyages had given Homer, and libraries had given

Theocritus access to these copious and undisputed springs :
but their waters were useless to Anacreon.'

In the same note he draws attention to a supposed similarity between a verse of Hafez and one of Propertius, which is interesting as an example of the distant approach considered by Landor sufficient to be called resemblance. The verses are these :

Should the sweet gales, as o'er thy tomb they play,
The fragrance of the nymph's loved tresses bring,
Then Hafez, shall new life inspire thy clay,
And ceaseless notes of rapture shalt thou sing.

(*Selected Odes from Hafez*, by John Nott.)

Jam licet et Stygia sedeat sub arundine remex
Cernat et infernæ tristia vela ratis :
Si modo clamantes revocaverit aura puella
Concessum nulla lege redibit iter.

(Propertius, *Eleg.*, 19, lib. 2.)

The long note, from which these extracts have been made, is attached to Landor's first Ode from the Persian, entitled 'Address to the Vine.' A few lines may be quoted as an example of the general style :

O Thou that delightest in the gardens of Shiraz,
And bathest with coyness in her canopied streams !
Daughter of Beauty, favorite of Nature !
Where she is beneficent thou art her handmaid,
Thy voice is transport, thy bosom peace.

The places named either in the verses or in the remarks are for the most part to be found in Nott's book, and the spelling is his.

Thus Ode XIII. of the latter opens with this stanza :

O pride of Shiraz, nymph divine !
Accept my heart and yield me thine :
Then were its price all Samarcand,
The wealth Bokhara's walls command ;
That pretty mole of dusky dye,
Thy cheek displays, I'd gladly buy.

From Landor's fourth Ode :

O Dulcimer, art thou not the breeze of Samarcand ?
 Thou art pleasanter than sweet Samarcand in her vallies
 of jonquils ;

The names are common enough, but it is at least a curious coincidence that in four Persian odes the only geographical names should be those which occur in Nott's *Hafez*. In the note which was quoted above, there is the following : ' The country round Shiraz is fertile in vines, and is watered by the river Mosella.' This looks like an assumption of ignorance on the part of Landor, since there is no such river. Nott, from whom he quotes a few lines later in the same note, refers to the opinion of Sir W. Jones that Mosella was a chapel, and adds that he himself thinks it was only the name of a pleasantly situated and sacred spot of ground in the time of Hafez, after whose death a chapel and monument were there erected.

Other inconsistencies might be mentioned, all tending to the conclusion that Landor was merely perpetrating a somewhat elaborate joke, but perhaps one further instance will be sufficient. He writes (To Ilbra, note (g)) : ' I must make an apology for having, in more than one instance, rendered two or even three French words into one.' This refers to the word ' half-shaded ' in the line

" The dimple of thy lips, half-shaded by ever-blooming
 roses."

It would surely be a most unusual occurrence for a translator to make an explanation of this kind, and further to remark on the many failings of the French language, without giving the words of the supposed original. It may reasonably be concluded that there was no original. Under the circumstances, no one will be surprised to read (note (h)) : ' I have not received the slightest information concerning the author, or the authors, of these Persian poems. It is certain that the

two, and probably that the three preceding ones are the production of the same pen.'

It is true that he attributes four of the Arabic poems to 'the son of the unfortunate Sheik Daher.' Landor has perhaps selected this historical personage as the supposed author, because of the reference to him by Volney, the French traveller, whose description of Palmyra is mentioned in note (u). Wheeler says (p. 132): 'According to the French traveller Volney, Daher had a son Othman, who on account of his extraordinary talent for poetry, was spared and carried to Constantinople.'

Nothing more is recorded of him, but there was also another son or grandson, Fazil Bey, whose poem, the *Zenan-Namch*, was first translated into French by J. A. Decourdemanche (*Le Livre des Femmes*: Paris, 1879). This sings the charms of the women of all nations, and, even if previously translated, could certainly not have supplied Landor with his material. The conclusion seems to be that the poems from the Arabic are imitations suggested by the translations of Nott and Jones, displaying, however, in subject and in metrical style, much originality. Mrs. Browning considered them extremely beautiful, breathing the true Oriental spirit throughout, ornate in fancy, graceful and full of unaffected tenderness. They are written in a style not elsewhere used by Landor, the versification being free and irregular, and the metre chiefly anapæstic.

Among the thoughts appear one or two which look like borrowings from his other poems. Of these, two instances may be quoted, neither perhaps very striking, but at least as close resemblances as some of those cited by Landor himself. In the lines 'On the Affliction of his Wife' he has the following:

I spanned, as it rose from the cushion, her neck's pale
crescent,
And fastened it to mine with the enchanting rings of her
hair.

The verses in memory of Nancy Jones contain the same thought :

. . . when Ione's locks
Claspt round her neck and mine their golden chain,

The latter was probably written before the Persian poems, but there is no evidence from which to decide ⁽¹⁾.

In the Persian poem, *Praise of Abu-Said*, occurs the line :

The beloved of Abu reel with its fragrance ;

while the Arabic verses 'On the Death of his Wife' contain a similar figure of speech :

And dizzy with the fragrance of her flowering lips.

Even such slight resemblances as these are hardly to be expected within the limits of a few short poems derived from two different languages.

The last piece, 'Addressed to Rahdi,' is perhaps the most pleasing in the volume :

O Rahdi, where is happiness ?
Look from your arcade, the sun rises from Busrah ;
Go thither, it rises from Ispahan.
Alas, it rises neither from Ispahan nor Busrah,
But from an ocean impenetrable to the diver,
O Rahdi, the sun is happiness !

The pursuit of the unattainable had once or twice previously found expression by Landor. Thus in *Gebir*, III. 13-18 :

. . . can any man
Bring back the far off intercepted hills,
Rather can any with outstripping voice
The parting Sun's gigantic strides recall ?

and again in verse 102 :

Like the horizon, which, as you advance,
Keeping its form and colour, yet recedes :

(1) Cf. pp. 7 and 8, *ante*.

Pope, in the *Essay on Man*, may have helped to suggest the finished form seen in the lines to Rahdi. We find there (Ep. II. 221) :

But where th' Extreme of Vice, was ne'er agreed ;
 Ask where's the North ? at York, 'tis on the Tweed ;
 In Scotland, at the Orcades ; and there,
 At Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where.

Whether the author did actually borrow a few ideas from his own works and those of others is not very important in connection with the question of authenticity. The other evidence here collected seems conclusive, and, taken with Landor's own assertion, can leave no room for doubt. Accepting this view, we must also admit that Landor had ceased to regard seriously his poetic vocation. The publication of a number of imitations to confuse critics is not consistent with the true spirit of poetry.

Perhaps it would be more correct to say that he was beginning to devote his gifts rather to criticism, than to producing works of imagination. But when, a little later, he calls *Gebir* the fruit of idleness and ignorance, which, had he known more of Botany and Mineralogy, had never been written, it is difficult to avoid thinking that the first fresh impulse to express himself in song had spent its force. The volume of 1802 contained little that had not already been composed before the Persian poems, and its issue rather confirms what is here said. The more important pieces in it were fragments, which a poet, conscious of high gifts and jealous of his reputation, would not have given willingly in their unfinished state to the world.

APPENDIX.

PROTIS'S NARRATIVE (1).

- We turn to Delphi ; we consult the God ;
The God, omniscient Phœbus, thus replies.
' Long have your wanderings been o'er wearying seas,
And long o'er earth, Phocæans, must they be—
5 Where war shall rage around you, treachery lurk,
And kings and princes struggle hard from peace.'
- I never shall forget that awful hour,
When Consolation fled calamity,
And Hope was slow to leave the Delphic shrine.
10 Scarce half the steps surmounted, sprang the roof ;
The gorgeous walls grew loftier every step ;
In gracile ranks of regular advance
The melting pillars rose like polish'd air :
The floor too, seem'd ascending, seem'd to wave
15 It's liquid surface like the heaven-hued sea ;
Throughout reflecting, variously displayed,
Deviceful piety and massive prayers.
Above the rest, beside the altar, stood
The Sardinian vases, gift of Cræsus, one
20 Of beaten silver, one of burnish'd gold,
Dazzling without, but dark from depth within.
Alas ! for these Ecbatana should have bow'd
Her seven-fold shield and Lydian flames dissolved
The yielding iris of the embattled crown.
25 Too soon hath Cræsus found, that once impell'd
By headlong folly or obdurate fate,
All Delphi's tripods, censers, gems, high-piled,
Cannot stop Fortune's swift-descending wheel.
Who but the maniac, then, would strain his throat
30 And rack his heart beneath capricious birds,
And tear disaster from its bowel'd bed !

(1) Reprinted from *Poetry by the Author of Gebir* : London, 1802, pp. 37-50. It is there entitled 'Part of Protis's Narrative.'

- I hung o'er these proud gifts, and rising, felt
 A cold hoarse murmur chide the unconscious sigh.
 The people heard with horror the decree,
 35 They were undone—and, who himself undo ?
 This comes from wisdom ; woe betide the wise !
 Why should they thus consult the oracle
 When it could give them only toil and grief ?
 These were inclined to penance, those to rage.
 40 O how near Nature Folly sometimes leads !
 Penance seem'd bending with sororial care
 To raise the brow of pale Despondency ;
 And Rage arous'd them, gave them energy,
 Made them unjust, perhaps, but made them great.
 45 Not in one city, could we long remain
 Ere there occur'd some signal which approved
 The Delphic revelation : was the crow
 Heard on the left, was thunder on the right,
 The starts of terror met the scoffs of scorn.
 50 Taunt, accusation, contumely, curse,
 Questioning stamp and pale-lipt pious sneer,
 Confusion, consternation, mystery,
 Procession, retrogression, vortexes
 Of hurry, wildernesses of delay :
 55 Each element, each animal, each glance,
 Each motion, now, admonish'd them, each bird
 Now bore the thunder of almighty Jove,
 Each fibre trembled with Phocæa's fate.
 Our parting sails far other prospects cheer'd.
 60 Self-courteous Pride, awaiting courtesy,
 Charm'd with bland whispers half our pangs away.
 What Grecian port that would not hail our ships ?
 'Twas oft debated which high-favor'd land
 Should share the honours it might well confer.
 65 Some from Cecropian Athens traced our line,
 And said ' Minerva's city shall rejoice.'
 Some Sparta lures—perfection fancy-form'd !
 So pure her virtue, and her power so poised,
 With Asia's despot how could Sparta join ?
 70 Now, from Eurotas driven, whose willows wove
 His knotty cradle, where should Freedom fly !
 Could Freedom exiled cherish exiled Hope ?
 We leave the plains, then, where the sports and flowers
 Are faint, untinged with blood ; where naked feet
 75 The mountain snow and woodland hoar condense,
 And virgin vestures crack the margent grass.
 Resolv'd no longer faithless friends to seek,

- And not renouncing, yet, the oracle ;
 Not yet forgetting, that, from Greece expeil'd,
 80 War was to rage around us—could there aught
 Be markt so plainly as the Enusian isle :
 So near our native land too ! all exclaim
 There take we refuge : here we take revenge.
 Again we trust the winds and tempt the waves ;
 85 Again behold our country—first ascends
 Melæna's promontory, frowning dark,
 And threatening woe to foreign mariners.
 Now lengthen out thy light unwarlike walls,
 And, as the clouds fly over thee or lower,
 90 Leucas ! so glance they forward or retire.
 Myrina next, and Cumæ, and, beyond,
 Larissa—nearer still, yet stands unseen,⁽¹⁾
 (If aught be standing of her blest abodes)
 Phocæa : Yes !—air, sea, and sky, resound
 95 ' Phocæa ' !—honor'd o'er the Gods was he
 Who the first temple's faintest white descried.
 What tears of transport, shouts of extasy,
 O what embraces now ! foul Enmity
 At that sweet sound flew murmuring far away,
 100 And the proud heart the precious moment seized
 To burst the brutal chains itself imposed,
 Dear native Land ! last parent, last—but lost !
 What rivers flow, what mountains rise, like thine ?
 Bold rise thy mountains, rich thy rivers flow,
 105 Fresh breathes thy air, and breathes not o'er the free !
 Love, vengeance, sweet desires, and dear regrets,
 Crowded each bosom from that pleasant shore :
 We touch the extremest shadow of its hills,
 And taste the fragrance of their flowering thyme.
 110 We see the enemy ; we hear his voice ;
 His arrows now fly round us ; now his darts :
 We rush into the port with pouncing prow.
 Faint ring the shields against our hooked poles ;
 We dash from every pinnace, and present
 115 A ridge of arms above a ridge of waves.
 Now push we forward ; now, the fight, like fire,
 Closes and gapes and gathers and extends.
 Swords clash, shields clang ; spears whirr athwart the
 sky,
 And distant helmets drop like falling stars.

(1) Phocæa stands at the furthest end, and at a *curvature* of the bay, on the borders and *front* of which are Cumæ, Myrina, and Larissa—the first objects that appear.

- 120 Along the sands, and midst the rocks, arise
 Cries of dismay, and cries of plangent pain ;
 Shouts of discovery, shouts of victory—
 While, seen amid the ranks, and faintly heard,
 Thunders the bursting billow's high-archt bound.
- 125 They flee ; we follow : where the fray retreats
 Torrents of blood run down, and mark its course,
 And seize the white foam from the scatter'd sand,
 And bear it floating to the sea unmixt :
 While many a breathless corse of warrior bold
- 130 Dashes, with hollow sullen plunge, beneath
 The hostile gods dark-frowning from our prows.

- O how delightful to retrace the steps
 Of childhood ! every street, and every porch
 And every court, still open, every flower
- 135 Grown wild within ! O worse than sacrilege
 To tear away the least and lowliest weed
 That rears its wakeful head between the stones !
 He who receiv'd undaunted, and surveyed
 With calmly curious eye the burning wound,
- 140 And open'd and inspected it, shed tears
 Upon the deep worn step, before the gate,
 That often whetted, once, his trusty sword.

- The trumpet calling, the Phocæan barks
 Reach, with reluctant haste, the Enusian shore.
- 145 Here the good Prodicus, whose prudent eye
 Foresaw that we were giving to the winds
 Our inconsiderate sail, and who advised
 To seek our safety from the Delphic shrine,
 Died !—those who living fill'd the smallest space
- 150 In death have often left the greatest void.
 The honest crew was gloomy ; thro' such gloom
 We best discern, and weigh, and value, tears.
 When from his dazzling sphere the mighty falls,
 Men, proud of shewing interest in his fate,
- 155 Run to each other and with oaths protest
 How wretched and how desolate they are.
 The good depart, and silent are the good.
 Here none with labour'd anguish howl'd the dirge,
 None from irriguous Ida, cypress-crown'd,
- 160 Blew mournfully the Mariandyne pipe ;
 Yet were there myrtles, polish'd from the fleece
 Of many flocks, successive, and the boughs
 Of simple myrtle twined his artless bier.

- Some scoopt the rock, some gather'd wondrous shells ;
 165 Warm was their study, warm were their disputes ;
 This was unpolisht ; this unsound ; 'twas askt
 With finger bent, and drawing tacit shame,
 Were shells like that for men like Prodicus ?
 Respect drew back, dishearten'd ; Reverence paused :
 170 To features harsh and dark clung first-born tears,
 And fond contention soften'd where they fell.
 Amid these funerals, four aged men
 Came out of Chios ; olive in their hands,
 Around their shoulders flow'd the Persic robe.
 175 They said, report had reacht the Chian state
 Of our arrival at its subject isles ;
 That, before Cyrus, at his footstool, sworn
 In war his soldiers as his slaves in peace,
 Charged with the king's high mandate they appear'd.
 180 He said—' Obey me, and ye still retain
 Freedom ; ye lose it when ye disobey.
 Therefore ye Grecian states of Asia's realm,
 Should ye presume to countenance my curse,
 Or dare to succour him whom I disclaim,
 185 Mark me aright, ye perish ! go, demand,
 Ye men of Chios, if the isle be yours,
 That those who late escaped our scymetar,
 Fly thence, or bend submissive to our sway.
 Should they resist, or hesitate, the fleet
 190 Of every city, from the Sestian stream
 To Gaza, shall attack them, or pursue,
 Nor furl the sail till conquest crown the mast.'
 To whom Pythermus, bursting from the throng.
 ' Go, tell thy master, go, thou self-born slave,
 195 Thou (!) subject ! soon his dreaded foe departs.
 Give him this opiate that thy hoary hairs
 Have gather'd from the way—but neither fear
 Of Persian swords nor Chian ships will urge
 Fresh flight, but famine dire from friends dismayed.
 200 We want not protestations : spare to lift

(!) It will probably be thought that, after calling anyone a *self-born slave*, the word *subject* could hardly be used as a term of severe reproach. But it must also be recollected what people these Phocæans were : that in their hostility to *regular governments*, particularly to that of Cyrus, who generously offered to take them under his *protection*, they were so fierce and refractory as in the paroxism of their rage and folly to have reasoned thus : Subjects are by convention what slaves are by compulsion : slaves are unwilling subjects ; subjects are willing slaves—they must indeed have reasoned thus, before they could have used any such expression.

Those eyes to heaven that roll in vows dissolved,
 Those ready hands that trembling creak with wreaths ;
 Were not those hands against right counsel rais'd,
 Were they not joined before the conqueror's throne ?
 205 Phocæans venerate not empty age ;
 Age for the ark of virtue was designed,
 And virtuous how they value, best declare
 These rites, these robes, and, look around, these tears.
 Hast thou forgotten how when Thales spake,
 210 Best of the good and wisest of the wise,
 And bade aloud the colonies unite
 In Teios, middlemost of Asia's marts,
 Against his equable and sound demand
 Ye stood, and bargain'd freedom for a bale.
 215 Else federal faction and rich rivalry
 Had murmur'd, but flow'd down ; equality
 Had lessen'd danger and diffused success ;
 And inland Temperance and mountain Strength
 Cherisht those arts which Avarice confined—
 220 Confined for riot, ravishment, and spoil.
 The fruit of commerce, in whatever clime,
 Ripening so sweet, so bitter in decay,
 Enervates, pampers, poisons, who partake :
 Thine, Freedom ! rais'd by Toil and Temperance,
 225 Bright as the produce of the Hesperian Isles,
 Fills the fond soul with sweet serenity,
 And mortals grow immortal from its shade.

O from what height descend I to ourselves !
 Alas, for Chios swore our fates to share.
 230 Heaven grant oblivion to the ungenerous race
 Who spurn'd that Liberty their fathers clasp'd
 With extacy, with madness, with despair—
 For sure they thought such blessing was not man's :
 They felt 'twas theirs—and love was jealousy.
 235 O people, lost to glory, lost to shame,
 Neglect the living, but respect the dead,
 Your fathers' ghosts the breaking bond will hear.
 But, heavenly powers ! whose silent orbs controul
 The balanced billows of the boundless sea,
 240 Who framing all things, o'er each state preside,
 And, ruling all things, rule man's restless heart—
 O ! if your servant, still, for follies past,
 Unconscious faults, or vices unatoned,
 Must suffer,—wander still, still groan repulse,
 245 Ne'er, Powers of Mercy ! may from kindred hand

- But from the fiercest foe that arrow fly !' ⁽¹⁾
 The men of Chios heard him, and retired.
 Again come groundless fears and dark debates.
 Part is undaunted ; swearing to abide
 250 The threats of Cyrus, anchor'd in the bay :
 Others walk near, and o'er the crowd descry
 The hoary heights of storied Sipylus ;
 And every tufted lair and tipping stream
 Comes from afar before the fondling eye.
 255 Well they remember how the moulten mass
 Of ardent iron from Hephestus' fane
 Was plung'd into the port, and how they swore
 They and their children, while the struggling fire
 Seiz'd the white column of the crumbling wave,
 260 That sooner should it rise again, and glow
 Upon the surface, than would they return,
 Or e'er, tiara'd Median, bend to thee.
 Now it repents them, now it grieves them ! years
 Are more, and hopes are fewer ! they withdraw
 265 One after one, slow creeping to the coast,
 Firm against oaths, and fixt to be forsworn.
 This when the braver, better part beheld,
 First with entreaties, then with threats, they try
 To turn the coward counsel back in time :
 270 Those, so intent on ruin, so resolved
 Against compulsion and against consent,
 Would fight their brethren while they court their foe.
 Stung by disdain and anguish, I exclaim'd
 ' What would ye more encounter ? ye have borne
 275 War, exile, persecution ; would ye bear
 (O last calamity of minisht man !)
 The hand of pardon on your abject ⁽²⁾ head ?
 Disease, affliction, poverty, defeat,
 Leaving behind them unadopted shame,
 280 Stamp not thus basely low the breathing clay.
 Man bend to man ! forbid it righteous heaven !
 T' endure each other hard calamity
 Is great, is glorious ; others are from high.
 Let us contend in these who best can bear,
 285 Contend in that who bravest can withstand.'
 Again, appearing shadowingly, return
 Spirit and mild remorse, and decent pride :
 The young that waver'd, turn their eyes, and find

(1) The inverted commas are absent in the original.

(2) Misprinted ' object ' in original.

- Most still unmoved—enough that most remain.
 290 Slow, and abasht, and silent, they rejoin
 Their bold companions ; timorous age believes
 They just return to bid their friends farewell :
 They ⁽¹⁾ join ; and unsuspecting youth believes
 They only went to bid the old adieu.
- 295 None are so stedfast in the servile strife,
 As those who, coldly pious, closely draw
 The cowl o'er failings from themselves conceal'd ;
 Who deeming oaths most sacred, deem that oaths
 Are made and broken by the same decree :
- 300 Wroth at each light-paced laughing folly's name,
 They lay a nation's counsel'd crimes on heaven :
 They think they worship, while they wrong, the Gods,
 And think they pity, while they hate, mankind.
 With these go all who, reckoning in themselves
- 305 Unfavor'd wealth or wisdom undiscern'd,
 Are grown disdainful to have met disdain ;
 Who, spurning most from others what they most
 Hug in themselves, and feed to plethory,
 Join stubborn patience with intolerant zeal.
- 310 These were the men, who, when the tyrant came
 Against their country and their freedom, call'd
 Debate sedition, acquiescence peace.
 Twelve barks, for twelve sufficed them, were decreed
 To bear away infirmity and fear,
- 315 And falsehood from the crew—twelve feeble barks—
 Twice thirty more of stoutest bulk remain.
 With these we, buoyant on unbounded hopes,
 Ocean's vast wilds by friendly stars retrace.
 First, vows and offerings to the powers above,
- 320 As to Poseidon, last, were duly paid :
 Nor seldom, when we saw the cynosure,⁽²⁾
 Thales ! the grateful heart thy name recall'd.
 Blest above men, who gain'dst from the Gods

⁽¹⁾ ' Their ' in original.

⁽²⁾ According to Diogenes Laertius, the poet Callimachus had somewhere attributed to Thales the first discovery, or rather, I should suppose, the first application to any nautical purpose, of the Ursa Minor. Whether the mariners observed the Cynosure or Helicé,

' Ex his altera apud Graios Cynosura vocatur,
 Altera dicitur esse Helice,'

their remembrance of Thales would be natural. I have preferred the Cynosure as the more obvious. The quarter from which they sailed must also be considered. Major Pelasgis apta, Sidoniis minor. (Seneca)

Regit altera Graias—

Altera Sidonias, utraque sicca, rates.

Power, more than heroes, tho' their progeny,
325 Power over earth, power over sea and sky.
They gave thee wisdom—this thou gavest men,
They gave thee Virtue—this too thou wouldst give :
They called thee aside, and led thy steps
Where never mortal steps were led before,
330 And shew'd the ever-peaceful realm of light.
Amidst the Gods thou lookedst down on Earth—
(Their glory could absorb but half thy soul)
Thou lookedst down, and viewing from afar
Earth struggling with Ambition, didst implore
335 Now that another country must be sought,
And other counsel taken, (thine disdained)
That they would chain up danger from the night,
And strengthen with new stars the watery way.

With surer sail, the daring mariners,
340 Leaving the green Ægæan, isle-begemm'd,
Explore the middle main : remembering Greece,
They swell with fiercer pride and fresh disdain ;
They scorn the shelter of her mountain-tops,
They curse with closer teeth the bitter blast,
345 Nor hail the fairest gales that blow from Greece.

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Bradley, William
The early poems of
Walter Savage Landor;
a study of his
development and debt to
Milton.

Bradbury, Agnew
([n.d.])

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